A STUDY OF BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION IN THE WARRACK LECTURES ON PREACHING : FROM 1940 TO 1975

John Bruce Byers

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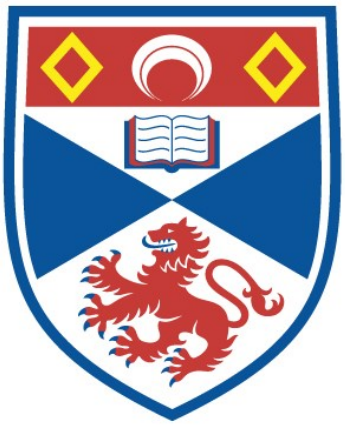
at the
University of St Andrews



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A STUDY OF BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION IN THE WARRACK LECTURES ON PREACHING FROM 1940 TO 1975

A THESIS PRESENTED BY

JOHN BRUCE BYERS

TO

THE FACULTY OF ST. MARY'S COLLEGE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF SAINT ANDREWS IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a study of the developments in Biblical interpretation discovered within the Warrack Lectures on preaching from 1940 to 1975. Essentially, the first part presents the information about interpreting the Scriptures found within the various lectures chronologically, and then, by comparison and contrast, shows how that information changes and points in certain developmental directions over the course of this thirty-five year period.

To place these particular changes within a context, the second part of the thesis presents relevant information and developmental directions found within Scottish academic Biblical and theological scholarship over the period from 1881 until the early 1960's. Employing primary and secondary sources and data discovered within The Expository Times, this survey reveals trends which are remarkably similar to those discovered within the Warrack Lectures.

The final chapter then correlates and examines these similiar trends and shows how both follow developmental directions toward the greater valuation of the more objective aspects of Biblical interpretation, a consequential devaluation of the more subjective ones, and an overall change in theological approach to interpreting Biblical subject-matter. The thesis concludes by drawing some implications from this correlation for the work of both contemporary preachers and scholars

DECLARATIONS

I certify that Mr. John Bruce Byers has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution of the University Court, 1967, No. 1 (as amended), and is qualified to submit this thesis in application for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Professor James A. Whyte
Supervisor of Studies

I was admitted as a research student under Ordinance 350 (General No. 12) and as a candidate for the degree of Ph.D. under Resolution of the University Court, 1967, No. 1 (as amended) on 1 October 1980.

Rev. Mr. John Bruce Byers
Candidate

The following thesis is based on the results of research carried on by myself, is my own composition, and has not previously been presented for a higher degree. The research was carried out in the University of St. Andrews under the supervision of Professor James A. Whyte.

Rev. Mr. John Bruce Byers
Candidate

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

When a dissertation finally finds its way to completion, there are so many to thank that it would be impractical to try to note them all. I will then acknowledge only a few knowing full well how many others have been omitted.

I begin by applauding my mother and father who believed in education and planted the seeds of a dream.

From there, I would also like to thank the illustrious Dr. Richard M. Cromie who went before me, affirmed my dream, and furthered it along in more ways than one.

Going from one outstanding mentor to another, I arrived in Scotland to meet Professor James A. Whyte as my Advisor of Studies. His guidance and wisdom were invaluable. Without his patience and vigilance, this study would never have been completed.

My sincerest gratitude also goes out to the congregation of Shadyside Presbyterian Church who awarded to me The Howard C. Scharfe Memorial Fellowship Scholarship. The generous proceeds of which enabled me to remain in Scotland for the duration of the residency requirement.

Throughout my stay in St. Andrews, I am indebted to the faculty and students of St. Mary's College who made me feel so at home and shared so much with me and my family.

Last, but by no means least, I would like to thank my wife, Shelley, whose support and constant faith in me never wavered.

Surely, gratitude is the memory of the heart, and to all those who made a dream come true but remain unmentioned, you, too, have my grateful thanks.

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this dissertation is essentially threefold. Firstly, it will be to report and substantiate some developments in Biblical interpretation found within the Warrack Lectureships from 1940 to 1975. Secondly, it will be to describe and verify related developments discovered within Scottish academic scholarship during the years from 1881 to the early 1960s. Thirdly, it will then be to compare these developments to see what kind of relationship, if any, exists between these two. In this way, the dissertation will be "A Study of Biblical Interpretation in the Warrack Lectures on Preaching from 1940 to 1975."

To accomplish these said purposes, the dissertation will proceed in the following manner. The initial three chapters will be given to fulfilling the first purpose. In order to do so, the Warrack Lectureships from 1940 to 1975 will be sub-divided chronologically. The first chapter will examine the Lectureships of the 1940s, and the second will cover those in the 1950s, and the third will focus on those from 1960 to 1975. Basically, this will break down the total number of Lectureships into workable units and will serve to illuminate some of the developments found therein.

Even though these divisions are more a matter of convenience, they do separate this thirty-five year period in a chronological fashion which will, by comparison and contrast, show certain changes in the way the Warrack lecturers approached the task of interpreting the Bible for preaching. Although one cannot be exact about this sort of thing, by placing together several Lectureships into a group, one can begin to perceive overall directions emerging from the whole even though one or another of the lecturers may be ahead or behind the general overall trend.

The next three chapters will be designed to accomplish the second purpose. To do so, these chapters will again be sub-divided chronologically. Chapter Four will cover relevant developments in Biblical interpretation found within Scottish academic scholarship from 1881 until the outset of the Great War. Chapter Five will focus on those between the wars, and Chapter Six will be given to those from 1940 to the early 1960s. As will be argued within, these divisions correspond closely to major changes in interpretative approach discovered within Scottish academic scholarship over the course of this designated period from 1881 to the early 1960s.

In addition, this designated period was also chosen because it approximately spans the dates from which the eldest Warrack lecturer within this present study began his divinity training until that time at which the youngest graduated. To be specific, W. M. MacGregor enrolled at Glasgow Free Church College in 1880 and Ian Pitt-Watson graduated from New College in 1950. The importance of this length of coverage will become more apparent toward the end of this dissertation when the developmental changes from these two sources will be compared and an inquiry will be made into the nature of their relationship.

The final chapter, Chapter Seven, will then be an attempt to correlate the developments in Biblical interpretation found within the Warrack Lectureships from 1940 to 1975 with those relevant developments discovered within Scottish academic scholarship from 1881 to the early 1960s. The intent here will be to see if they are related in some meaningful way and, if so, then to analyze certain aspects of the correspondence between them.

Because the field of Scottish academic Biblical scholarship, by its very nature, covers a great deal more ground than that discovered in the Warrack Lectureships, the discussion will be limited to those changes found in the Warrack Lectures and their relevant counterparts, if any, in Scottish academic scholarship. Within a brief, digested form, this is the purpose and arrangement of the dissertation, but there are still several questions regarding format which need to be addressed before we begin.

The choice of employing the Warrack Lectures as the foundation for this study arose from the nature of the Lectureship itself. Since it involves an ongoing series of lectures on preaching given over the course of an historical period, it provides an easily accessible means of noting developmental changes. As Chapters One through Three will argue, there were some identifiable changes in how the Warrack Lecturers interpreted Biblical material for preaching over the course of the time period from 1940 to 1975.

Moreover, the Warrack Lectureship was also chosen because of the nature of the lecturers themselves and the seriousness with which they approached the homiletical task. According to the Declaration of Trust composed by the original benefactor, Mr. Frank Warrack, this Lectureship was "to be offered to the Preachers most noted for their power to attract and hold the people."[1] Although it may be argued as regards some of the individual choices, most were held in high esteem within the Church of

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[1]See Appendix I, p. 325

Scotland or its antecedents and considered to be representative of the best of Scottish preachers.

According to Clyde Fant and William Penson, the Warrack Lectureship is considered to be the most consequential in Europe. As they state, "the Beecher and the Warrack Lectures are the most significant lectureships on preaching in the United States and Europe respectively."[1] It is therefore held that the Warrack lecturers themselves provide a most worthy and solid foundation for a study of this sort.

Furthermore, the Warrack Lectureship was again chosen because in many ways it would reflect currently held and widely spread homiletical practices. Even though the lecturers would have been distinguished by their unique abilities, the Biblical interpretative approaches they employed would have been similar to those of many others. If they had deviated too far from the norm, they would not have been selected in the first place by the College Committee to address divinity students. Those chosen do represent a cross-section of styles and theological viewpoints, but this fact only serves to further support this contention. As a general rule, the Warrack Lecturers would have used Biblical interpretative methods which were currently practiced and therefore rather representative of many other Scottish preachers of their time.

Concerning the originality of this particular dissertation, to the best of my knowledge, there have been only four works which employ the

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[1]Clyde E. Fant, Jr. and William M. Pinson, Jr., edits., Twenty Centuries of Great Preaching: An Encyclopedia of Preaching, 13 vols. (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1971), XII: 172.

Warrack Lectures as the foundation for their studies.[1] This search was conducted through the use of the University of St. Andrews Library's computer as well as through my own investigations. I have read all four of these works and none of them infringe upon the originality or uniqueness of this dissertation.

Within the introduction to his dissertation, Dr. Richard Rehfeldt did extensive research into the origin, history, and development of the Warrack Lectureship in general. Since this has already been so thoroughly and carefully documented in his dissertation, it was felt that there was no particular need to reproduce it within this one. If you desire to know about Mr. Frank Warrack or how the Lectureship came to be or how it has changed throughout the decades since its beginning in 1921, these and many other interesting details can be found within the rather lengthy introduction to Dr. Rehfeldt's dissertation.[2]

Suffice it here to say only that Warrack Lectureship was begun in 1921 at the bequest of Mr. Frank Warrack. The Declaration of Trust spells out the aims and purposes of this lectureship.[3] A Supplementary Declaration of Trust was added to the original in July of 1929 which granted to College Committee the right to modify the terms of the Lectureship with the proviso that it be continued as instituted "for the more effective

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[1]See the Bibliography, Section III, p. 355

[2]Richard Rehfeldt,"The Relationship Between Preaching and Other Ministerial Functions As Viewed in the Warrack Lectures on Preaching 1921-1971" (St. Andrews: University of St. Andrews Ph.D. Dissertation, 1975), pp. 1-31.

[3]See Appendix I, pp. 324-326

training and teaching of the ministers of the said Church."[1] The appointment to this Lectureship was to be made by the College Committee. Even though the original intentions were not followed rigidly throughout the years, more often than not, they were, and the Lectureship continues even to the present.

As regards other items of format, the reader will notice an abbreviated style of footnoting references to the Warrack Lectures. They will be noted by the author's last name only, the general label "Warrack", the year or years in which they were held, and the appropriate page or pages. Appendix II has been provided to list the authors and titles of the Lectureships in historical order.[2] Section I of the Bibliography has been designed to list the Lectureships by date held with a full bibliographic reference.[3] This was done to avoid needless repetition and lengthy footnoting. It may be well for the reader to acquaint herself or himself with these sources before entering into the main body of the text.

Another matter worthy of attention before proceeding is the availability and advisability of employing certain published and unpublished Warrack Lectures. Most of the individual Lectureships were printed as delivered, but some were not. Moreover, a few added extra materials, and others were completely altered before publication. Because of this, decisions needed to be rendered as to which of the works were to be employed within this study and which were not. Appendix III lists the

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[1]See Appendix I, p. 326

[2]See Appendix II, p. 328

[3]See the Bibliography, Section I, pp. 332-333

various Lectureships in question and briefly explains why they were or were not used.[1]

The final format consideration is that of an appropriate starting point. The decision was made to begin this study in 1940 and not in 1921 because it was deemed necessary to fix the scope and size of the thesis to fit within the prescribed limitations, and because the period from the beginning of the Second World War lent itself more readily to the kind of correlation used in this period than an earlier period would have done.

By the conclusion of this dissertation, it is the hope of the author to be able to draw out some implications for both contemporary preachers as well as scholars regarding this mutually shared hermeneutical task of interpreting the Bible. If some kind of mutual correspondence does exist between them, and if there are mutually shared developmental changes, then what does this imply for both modern preachers and scholars? An attempt to answer this question will then be one aim of the conclusion of this study.

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[1]See Appendix III, p. 329

Chapter 1

Developments in Biblical Interpretation within the Warrack Lectures of the 1940s

The purpose of this first chapter is to report and substantiate certain developments in the interpretation of the Bible for preaching found within the Warrack Lectureships of the 1940s. This will be accomplished by examining the various lecturers' recommendations regarding the interpretation of Biblical subject matter and, if necessary, by considering their particular methods of interpretation. These will then be compared and contrasted to see if they show change and point in some developmental direction. Since the interpretative process includes many different components, only specific aspects will be employed in order to limit the scope of this examination.

These specific aspects of the Biblical interpretative process for preaching will be divided into two generalized categories. The first will be the more objective and scholarly aspects such as Biblical criticism and theological stance. The second will be the more subjective and personal aspects like the role of religious experience and the Holy Spirit in ascertaining the meaning of Biblical subject matter. These categories are in some ways artificial since the interpretative process cannot be so rigidly separated, yet for the purposes of this study, these two generalized categories will serve well to organize the information in a meaningful way for subsequent analysis.

Before we begin in earnest, a few cursory remarks are necessary concerning the nature of the information on Biblical intrepretation

found in the lectures of this decade. First, compared with the decades to follow, the Warrack lecturers of the 1940s give little attention to the concerns of Biblical interpretation. Considering the social situation of this period of history, it is not surprising. Although minimal amounts of information are discovered in most of the lectures, none of the lectures spend much time on the specifics of interpretative method. The only notable exception to this is found in the Lectureship of R. E. McIntyre. He spends two lectures discussing the use of Biblical subject matter in preaching and teaching. Even so, it must be noted that his were the final lectures of this decade. As an overall generalization, one can say that the lectures of the 1940s dedicate little of their content to the task of Biblical interpretation for preaching.

Secondly, the information about Biblical interpretation is not particularly detailed. Since this is so, when it is deemed necessary, information will be drawn from other sources besides the actual lectures. Luckily enough, most of the lecturers have published other works from which one can discover a clearer estimate of their Biblical interpretative method. Again, it must be noted that in their other works Biblical interpretation is not a topic of great concern.

Lastly, in this decade, the information about Biblical interpretation tends to include emphases upon the more subjective and personal aspects. For instance, the role of religious experience in understanding the meaning of a text is given significant emphasis in the lectures of MacGregor and Jeffrey. Furthermore, the allegorical method is cautiously recommended in the lectures of Stewart and McIntyre. This

stress on the subjective aspects is more prominent in the lectures of this decade than it is in those which are to follow.

William Malcolm MacGregor

The recommendations regarding Biblical interpretation found in the lectures of W. M. MacGregor are the best starting point. Essentially, the reason for this is because he represents the earliest tradition found in the lectures of the 1940s.[1] He was being trained at Glasgow Free Church College while the controversy surrounding the Biblical work of W. Robertson Smith grew to its climax in 1881. During his years at Glasgow College, MacGregor was greatly influenced by his mentors and especially A. B. Bruce.[2] Throughout his days as preacher, professor, and principal, he would remain faithful to the Biblical interpretative method he was taught as a student. It is for these reasons that MacGregor's interpretative method will be considered first.

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[1] W. M. MacGregor was born in 1861, took his B. D. in 1885, and did his Warrack Lectureship when he was eighty-one years young. On all these counts, he was almost twenty years older than any of the other lecturers during this period.

[2] Some indication of the impact of A. B. Bruce upon MacGregor can be gathered from the following. He dedicates his first book to his father and A. B. Bruce - "two servants and friends of Jesus Christ...through whom, to many and to me also, was disclosed the glory of the Son of God." See W. M. MacGregor, Jesus Christ the Son of God; Sermons and Interpretations (Edinburgh, T & T Clark, 1909), p. v. Second, in his 1919 Inaugural Address at Trinity College, he gives his whole content to aspects of Bruce's life and work. In this address, it is hard to distinguish when MacGregor is speaking about Bruce's work as an interpreter and his own perspectives on Biblical interpretation. Their positions appear to be very similar. See W. M. MacGregor, Persons and Ideals; Addresses to my Students and Others (Edinburgh, T & T Clark, 1939); pp. 1-12. Lastly, in A. J. Gossip's foreword to MacGregor's Warrack lectures, he noted: "When it was rumored that MacGregor thought of deserting the pulpit for a chair, men, in astonishment, asked, Why? He replied, with modesty, that he had learned some things from Bruce which he would fain hand on." See MacGregor, Warrack, 1942, p. 19.

To begin with, MacGregor had some specific views regarding exegesis. He talked of two different sorts. One was called "verbal exegesis," and the other was labelled "real exegesis." In some ways, this understanding of exegesis marks him as belonging to an earlier generation than any of the other lecturers of this decade.

In his For Christ and the Kingdom, MacGregor put forward that divinity students should be taught how to do "real exegesis" not simply "verbal exegesis."[1] His argument goes as follows.

> "One of the greatest of the moderns - Professor A. B. Bruce - was fond of insisting on the distinction between verbal and real exegesis. It is possible to approach a passage merely along the lines of text and usage and grammar; the textual evidence is examined and emendations - possible and merely ingenious - are considered, changes in verbal usage are noted, and the force of grammatical peculiarities is measured; and all this is of substantial value, but does it exhaust the task of the exegete?"[2]

His answer is no. The "Divine meaning" has yet to be discovered, and it is the divine meaning which is of greater value for the preacher.[3]

To illustrate the difference between verbal and real exegesis, he offers an example.

> "Suppose one of the supreme Old Testament passages - Isa. liii or Jer. xxxi, 31-34 or Mic. vi, 6-8 - had been submitted to this process (of only verbal exegesis), the best that one could say is that the ground had now been cleared, and that the real interpretation may thus begin. A student, coming so far and halting there, would be, so far as the Divine meaning is concerned,

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[1] W. M. MacGregor, For Christ and the Kingdom; Some Chapters on the Christian Ministry and the Call to It (London, SCM Press, 1932), pp. 50-52.

[2] Ibid., pp. 50-51.

[3] Ibid., p. 51.

> entirely an outsider; whereas, with vastly less of preparatory work, a man of living mind might have got to grips with what is central."[1]

It is for this reason that MacGregor argues that divinity students should be taught how to do "real exegesis" and not simply "verbal exegesis." As he notes elsewhere, "Textual criticism and grammar must be servants, not masters to exegesis."[2]

MacGregor is using the term "real exegesis" in a wider, more inclusive sense than is usually afforded to this word. In his sense of the word, it means more than simply discovering the meaning of the text within its context. It certainly includes this, but only as part of a larger, more valuable enterprise. This more valuable enterprise is discerning the divine meaning of the text, and this includes being "engaged with the vital relations of the text concerned."[3] As he notes, "No literature can be deeply understood except by one who is familiar with the emotions which gave it being, and many a commentator of enormous learning and acuteness manages triumphantly to omit the one thing which makes a text of lasting interest."[4] Real exegesis includes both of these aspects as well as several others.

Pursuing this differentiation between verbal and real exegesis further, MacGregor states that the "temptation of the mere scholar is to entangle himself among words; he dwells upon a phrase and parallels to it in other literatures, on the derivation of the

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[1]Ibid.

[2]W. M. MacGregor, Persons and Ideals; Addresses to my Students and Others (Edinburgh, T & T Clark, 1939), p. 8.

[3]Ibid., p. 10.

[4]Ibid.

vocables and their history, until his energy is spent, and he has little to throw on its meaning where it stands.[1]

He illustrates this particular problem as follows:

> "A distinguished Cambridge professor, commenting on the promise in Genesis of the bruising of the serpent's head, marks the objections to other explanations, and ends with this: 'It is thus possible that, in its primary intention, the oracle reflects the protest of ethical religion against the unnatural fascination of snake worship. It is psychologically true that the instinctive feelings which lie at the root of the worship of serpents are closely akin to the hatred and loathing which the repulsive reptile excites in the healthy human mind; and the transformation of a once sacred animal into an object of aversion is a not infrequent phenomenon in the history of religion,' and so on."[2]

"But that," in MacGregor's view, "is not exegesis so much as a kind of etymology - a vastly humbler occupation. It deals with the meaning which words and images at some time conveyed, and thus it may have interest for the scientific historian of religion; but it has very little to do with the meaning which the image had acquired by the time when Genesis finally took shape, and it is with this that all serious readers are most concerned."[3]

MacGregor's estimate of this same text (Genesis 3:15) is much more orthodox and in line with traditional Scots Calvinism. In explaining the meaning of the text, he writes:

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[1] Ibid., pp. 8-9.

[2] Ibid., p. 9. This quote is taken from John Skinner, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis (Edinburgh, T & T Clark, 2nd ed., 1930), p. 81. This commentary was part of the International Critical Commentary series.

[3] Ibid.

> "This group of man and snake is a kind of hieroglyphic or picture-writing, which exhibits the moral situation in the world. It tells of a perpetual feud, carried on in age after age by always new combatants, in which the parties maintain their quarrel, each after his proper nature .... This ancient hieroglyph shows man in his essential nature, erect and kingly, and sin in its real character, degraded and earthbound. It is far from containing all the truth of our moral life, but it does convey a substantial part of it."[1]

This particular understanding of the text bears a marked resemblance to that put forward by Calvin in his commentary on Genesis.[2] If one were to compare and contrast MacGregor's estimate of the text with those of Skinner and Calvin, then the resemblance to Calvin's becomes even more striking.

Even though there was a noticeable affinity between MacGregor's and Calvin's understanding of Genesis 3:15, there are some revealing dissimilarities. First, the story is not interpreted literally but analogically. Second, Moses is never mentioned as the author of Genesis. He refers to the author simply as the writer.[3] Third, the struggle portrayed in the text between humankind and the serpent is seen more as the moral clash between good and evil than the cosmological warfare between God and Satan. Fourth, he talks of mankind in a strongly positive sense and is sure that with God's help and personal courage, anyone can triumph over moral evil. These dissimilarities disclose certain influences upon his interpretation of this text.

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[1] W. M. MacGregor, Some of God's Ministries (Edinburgh, T & T Clark, 1910), p. 11.

[2] John Calvin, Commentaries on the First Book of Moses Called Genesis, trans. by John King (Edinburgh, Calvin Translation Society, 1847), Vol. I, pp. 167-171.

[3] W. M. MacGregor, Some of God's Ministries, p. 19.

First, it shows that MacGregor had accepted some of the results of higher criticism as propagated by men like W. Robertson Smith and George Adam Smith. In traditional Scots Calvinism, Moses was considered to be the author of the Pentateuch and this text was understood literally as explaining the enmity between humans and snakes. By not interpreting the text literally and by disclaiming Mosaic authorship, MacGregor is seen to have allowed higher criticism to affect his interpretation and to modify his allegiance to the traditional exposition of this text.

Second, it reveals that MacGregor shared some of the suppositions of liberal theology. In traditional Scots Calvinism, man is viewed negatively through the doctrine of total depravity;[1] his ability to triumph over moral evil is not understood optimistically, and the enmity between serpent and human is understood as part of the larger cosmological warfare between God and Satan. To abandon these interpretations and to replace them with a more positive estimate of man, an optimistic assessment of his ability to triumph over moral evil, and a non-anthropomorphic understanding of the clash between good and evil, is to recognize the influence of liberal theology.

Generalizing these contentions, one could say, without too much distortion, that MacGregor's theological slant was basically a liberalized version of traditional Scots Calvinism which was significantly influenced by the results of higher criticism and by the suppositions of liberal theology. Ample evidence to justify this thesis is found in

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[1]See "The Westminster Confession of Faith" (1645), Chapter IV.

his most scholarly work entitled Christian Freedom.[1] Herein, he alludes frequently to the work of higher critics such as Bruce, Dods, Lightfoot, Ramsay, Weiss, and Deissman, and to the thought of German liberal theologians like Ritschl, Harnack, and Herrmann. Even so, he was no disciple of any one of these men or schools of thought. The reason for this was primarily because he permitted other, more objective, interpretative factors to enter into what he called "real exegesis."

Now, what were these other interpretative factors? For MacGregor, personal religious experience was certainly one of them. He asserted a "truth through personality" concept of preaching.[2] If an exegete has had a similar religious experience to that of an author of Scripture, such as that between Luther and Paul, then it makes "vital understanding" possible.[3] Furthermore, a preacher is supposed to inwardly and personally appropriate the truths contained within Scripture.[4] As he noted, real exegesis "brings the mind into contact not with words but with the life of man and of God."[5] Personal religious experience is, in MacGregor's estimate, one of the most important vehicles through which the divine meaning can truly be apprehended.

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[1]W. M. MacGregor, Christian Freedom (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1914).

[2]MacGregor, Warrack, 1942, p. 28.

[3]W. M. MacGregor, For Christ and Kingdom, p. 51.

[4]MacGregor, Warrack, 1942, pp. 38-39.

[5]W. M. MacGregor, For Christ and Kingdom, p. 51.

Very much in concert with personal religious experience is MacGregor's conviction that through the power of the Holy Spirit the things of Christ are revealed.[1] In practical terms, a preacher's devotional life,[2] his readings of Scripture,[3] and even his more general readings if wisely chosen[4] could become vital means to further comprehend the mind and will of God. It is out of this comprehension that a preacher is to understand the divine meaning of the text.

It is a curious omission that in his Warrack lectures MacGregor nowhere stated the necessity for preachers to do scholarly exegesis. It was not as if he did not know how to do it himself. Perhaps, he simply assumed that all preachers did this without having to be told. Perhaps, he believed in a clear-cut division of labour between scholars and preachers. Perhaps, he was stressing the more subjective side of exegesis to address a weakness he perceived in the preaching of his day. Nevertheless, in his Warrack lectures, personal religious experience, the preacher's devotional life, and the revelatory action of the Holy Spirit were given pride of place while consideration of scholarly exegesis was played down. At best, scholarly exegesis only cleared the ground so that the divine meaning could be sought and comprehended.

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[1]MacGregor, Warrack, 1942, p. 41.

[2]W. M. MacGregor, For Christ and the Kingdom, pp. 74-89.

[3]Ibid., pp. 77-78.

[4]MacGregor, Warrack, 1942, pp. 54-65.

In venturing an opinion as to why MacGregor so insisted upon this differentiation between verbal and real exegesis and so scathingly criticized Skinner's understanding of Genesis 3:15, it seems reasonable to say that he was attempting to protect more traditional interpretative methods from the dominance of the so-called scientific and objective forms of exegesis. The exegetical approach found in the I.C.C. series on Genesis must have appeared somewhat absurd to him. Compared to his mentor's, A. B. Bruce's, and his own exegetical work, Skinner's approach, which was becoming increasingly valued, must have seemed distant and remote from his own views about the true purposes of Biblical scholarship. As MacGregor pointed out, the work of scholars should transcend the arena of scholarship and appeal even to common Christian folk.[1] In his view, the scholars' endeavors should serve the preacher and the church not simply other scholars.[2] With his insistence upon real exegesis which discovers the divine meaning of the text, he appears to be protecting the right of other, more subjective interpretative factors to shape one's initial approach to discerning the meaning of the text.

In assessing his overall interpretative method, MacGregor included within his concept of real exegesis a conglomerate of interpretative factors that resulted in discovering the divine meaning of the text. These included 1) verbal (or scholarly) exegesis which clears the

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[1] W. M. MacGregor, Persons and Ideals, p. 10.

[2] W. M. MacGregor, "The Task of a Theological College," in E. T., Vol. 42, February 1931, pp. 202-205.

ground so the divine meaning can be sought, 2) a liberalized Calvinistic theology informed by higher criticism and liberal theology which helped to explain the implications of the text, and 3) a variety of subjective factors such as personal religious experience and the revelatory action of the Holy Spirit that serve to further one's comprehension of the divine meaning of the text. Emphasis is placed upon the last of these three. Although there were certainly other factors involved in his interpretative method, these were the more significant ones.

James Stuart Stewart

Stewart's recommendations regarding the interpretation of Biblical material were much more characteristic of the other lecturers in the 1940s than were MacGregor's. Moreover, many of Stewart's viewpoints appeared to be shared by the other lecturers of this period. Since his views are somewhat representative, a close examination of his suggestions should be helpful in ascertaining how the other lecturers of this decade understood Biblical interpretation.

Stewart is rather straightforward in his assessment of the importance of Biblical interpretation for preaching. He writes:

> "But the strongest and most helpful preaching is that which expounds a text or passage in dynamic relationship to its actual setting in Scripture. Loyalty to the Word of God demands scrupulous care in exegesis ... Build your sermons on a solid foundation of accurate exegesis."[1]

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[1]Stewart, Warrack, 1943, pp. 156-157.

He goes on to say that preachers who read into the text a meaning which is really not there are to be discouraged.[1] Again, preachers who use a text as merely a device to develop their own pet theories are to be dissuaded.[2] Furthermore, the use of "outlandish" texts, which do more to show the cleverness of the preacher instead of the majesty of God, is to be avoided.[3] The use of more familiar texts like John 3:16 and Matthew 11:28 is advised.[4] Exegetical honesty is simply one of the preacher's duties.[5]

In describing his views on exegetical honesty, Stewart states that "Every passage or text has its own quite distinctive meaning."[6] This distinctive meaning is the one which the original writer meant to convey to his readers.[7] By the usage of exegetical methods, especially the historical background, one is able to understand this meaning.[8] The sermon should then be built upon that meaning.[9] In this way, a preacher is actually allowing the text to speak for itself.[10]

Despite these views on exegetical honesty, Stewart remains willing to pursue a more than literal exegesis of the text. As he writes:

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[1]Ibid., p. 155.

[2]Ibid., p. 46.

[3]Ibid., pp. 157-158.

[4]Ibid., p. 158.

[5]Ibid., p. 155.

[6]Ibid., p. 46.

[7]Ibid., p. 124.

[8]Ibid., see also, p. 156.

[9]Ibid., p. 157.

[10]Ibid., p. 46.

> "To say this is not, of course, to suggest that all allegorizing is necessarily bad; nor does it imply a rigid and excessive literalism distrustful of all spiritual lines of interpretation. There is no reason why you should not, occasionally at least, extend the reference of a text beyond its immediate setting."[1]

This statement appears to be very much in contradiction with his concept of exegetical honesty.

To illustrate what he means by a more than literal exegesis, a look at his sermon entitled "The Four Anchors" would be helpful.[2] In this sermon, Stewart takes as his text Acts 27:29 ("Then fearing lest we should have fallen upon the rocks, they cast four anchors out of the stern, and wished for the day."). These four anchors from the narrative become the four anchors of the soul; i.e., hope, duty, prayer, and the cross of Christ. In actuality, this text is only a descriptive sentence in the narrative about Paul's journey to Rome. To interpret the text in this fashion is to give to the text a meaning which is essentially not what the original author intended to convey to his readers. Despite the fact that his sermon is very much in keeping with other parts of Scripture, he interprets this text in a way that contradicts his concept of exegetical honesty. Some of his other recommendations may serve to clarify this contradiction.

Stewart suggests that occasionally a sermon should be based upon a whole passage, narrative, or book of Scripture.[3] He writes:

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[1]Ibid., p. 155.

[2]James S. Stewart, The Gates of New Life (Edinburgh, T & T Clark, 1937), pp. 102-111.

[3]Stewart, Warrack, 1943, p. 164.

> "The point is: do not be in bondage to the tradition of the single text and the isolated phrase. Use the microscope by all means; but do not neglect the wider view and the far horizon. I would even, greatly daring, suggest that you should try occasionally, ..., to concentrate into one sermon the basic message of a whole book, ..."[1]

This wider view affords the preacher a little more interpretative latitude than one which simply exposits the meaning of a particular text.[2]

Consistent with this concept of the wider view, Stewart insists that the apostolic kerygma should provide the central themes for preaching.[3] He writes:

> "Apostolic preaching, ..., set forth the facts of the Cross and the Resurrection in their organic relationship to the Kingdom of God. In these supreme events, it declared, the Kingdom, long dreamt of and foretold, had now appeared. By this invasion of the supernatural into human experience all life's issues were immeasurably deepened, and the sense of urgency and crisis dramatically intensified. The new era of the Spirit had broken in with power. Until we recapture and restore this apostolic perspective and emphasis, our preaching will be maimed and crippled."[4]

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[1] Ibid., p. 165.

[2] To preach a sermon from the perspective of this wider view is something that was not done in any of W. M. MacGregor's published sermons. All of his were strictly founded upon the words of the text.

[3] Ibid., pp. 58-99. Elsewhere, Stewart defined the kerygma more specifically. "Quite briefly, it was this. They proclaimed that prophecy was fulfilled; that in Jesus of Nazareth, in His words and deeds, His life and death and resurrection, the new age had arrived; that God had exalted Him, that He would come again as Judge, and that now was the day of salvation." See, James S. Stewart, A Faith to Proclaim (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1953), pp. 14-15.

[4] Ibid., pp. 94-95.

For him, the purpose of preaching was to proclaim the mighty acts of God,[1] and the apostolic kerygma provides a significant formulation of these mighty acts.

Because of the central importance he attaches to the kerygma for preaching, it served for him as an overall matrix of meaning by which to assess and understand the meaning of any particular text.[2] This is evident in his sermons of this period.[3] No matter what the text, the cross and the resurrection appear in almost every sermon. This is even more obvious in his 1952 Lyman Beecher Lectures.[4] As he notes: "It was not the written records that produced the kerygma: that was there before a word had been written. It was the kerygma that produced the records."[5] This perspective formulated in accordance with the apostolic kerygma would significantly affect how Stewart comprehended and interpreted the meaning of any text for preaching.

In Stewart's intrepretation of Biblical subject matter for preaching, there exists a certain set of priorities. Sometimes his intention to exposit the text in accordance with its Biblical context is overweighed by the central importance he attaches to the proclamation of the apostolic kerygma. It is for this reason that he could justify an occasional more than literal exegesis of the text. Even so, his

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[1] Ibid., p. 63.

[2] Ibid., p. 61. As he writes here: "In other words, if we are not determined that in every sermon Christ is to be preached, it is better that we should resign our commission forthwith and seek some other vocation."

[3] See, James S. Stewart, The Gates of New Life; and The Strong Name (Edinburgh, T & T Clark, 1940).

[4] See, James S. Stewart, A Faith to Proclaim, p. 13f. Stewart's analysis and commentary upon the subject and content of preaching as the apostolic kerygma owes much to the work of C. H. Dodd.

[5] Ibid., p. 16.

allegorizing is not fanciful or perifidious. It is always faithful to his understanding of preaching as the proclamation of the mighty acts of God and to his basic theological slant which arose out of the kerygma.

Arising out from his understanding of the kerygma, Stewart's basic theological slant is that of a liberal evangelical.[1] He could be considered an evangelical because he was dedicated to propagating the gospel in a manner that called for conversion or deeper commitment to Jesus Christ. His urgent concern to convince people of the gospel's truth, to win people for faith and salvation, and to encourage the converted to deepen their commitment appears in many of his sermons and writings.[2]

Furthermore, he could be said to be a liberal evangelical for two reasons.[3] First, his theological slant shows the presence of modified principles of a more traditional Scots evangelicalism.[4] For instance,

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[1]See, A. C. Cheyne, The Transforming of the Kirk; Victorian Scotland's Religious Revolution (Edinburgh, St. Andrew Press, 1983), pp. 194f, 200-207.

[2]For example, see, James S. Stewart, "Holy Alliances," in his The Gates of New Life, pp. 132-141. Herein, he outlines some issues regarding what he calls "evangelical religion." Also, see, James S. Stewart, This Is the Kingdom (Edinburgh, St. Andrew Press, 1956). This book is a prolegomena to a theology of mission, and expresses both his evangelical concern and theology.

[3]See, Gabriel Fackre, "Evangelical, Evangelicalism," in A. Richardson and J. Bowden, eds., A New Dictionary of Christian Theology (London, SCM Press, 1983), pp. 191-192. Using his definitions, Stewart would certainly not fall within the category of "Old Evangelicals," but he would more or less, fall within his category of "New Evangelicals."

[4]In a private taped interview conducted by the author in 16 September 1983 with James S. Stewart, he stated that his approach to Biblical subject matter was greatly influenced by Adam Welch and H. A. A. Kennedy and his theology by H. R. Mackintosh, James Denney, P. T. Forsyth, and, later, by Emil Brunner.

in his sermons he places a heavy emphasis upon personal piety but he does not divorce this from social concern.[1] Again, he gives pride of place to the gift of faith, but he would not sever this gift from the gift of reason.[2] Essentially, his theological slant is a sort of liberalized and more moderate version of traditional Scots evangelicalism.

Second, he could be called a liberal evangelical because of the positive context within which he presented his interpretation of the Christian religion. Unlike traditional Scots evangelicals, he does not stress the negative aspects of the gospel like sin, judgment, condemnation, and damnation.[3] Even though these were not neglected, he puts his emphasis upon the more positive aspects such as the love

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[1]See, James S. Stewart, The Gates of New Life, pp. 132-136.

[2]See, Ibid., pp. 137-140.

[3]For an example of this, see, James S. Stewart, "The Final Doxology," in The Gates of New Life, p. 242. He notes here: "I know there are other aspects of the gospel besides this. I know there is what St. Paul called 'the terror of the Lord.' I know there is what the writer to the Hebrews meant when he cried, 'Our God is a consuming fire.' I know that the sentimental religion which makes the righteous Father of Christ a mere principle of amiability and good-natured indulgence has no justification whatever, either in Scripture or experience. But I know this - that any man who has once gazed into the eyes of Jesus is entitled to stand and cry to all the sons of men, even to the most sinful, shabby and wretched, 'God loves you! God is reconciled to you! Underneath you are God's everlasting arms!'"

of God, free grace, and full atonement.[1] He appeals to what is best in a person by inspiring and encouraging them to travel the higher, more noble, more difficult way. Both his liberalized version of traditional Scots evangelicalism and the positive context out of which he interprets the gospel make Stewart a liberal evangelical.

Now Stewart could not be considered an adherent of liberal theology, because he is often critical of its excesses. As he writes:

> "The Bible might insist that 'your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour,' but theological liberalism smiled to itself in a superior and even contemptuous way: it was not going to take such rhetoric too seriously. The conceptions of the world as fallen, of human nature as infected with a radical taint .... these were classed as outmoded fictions, and relegated to the scrap-heap of an antiquated theology. The evolutionary hypothesis ... begin to invade the deepest sanctities of the soul ... The Kingdom of Heaven was not, as Jesus and the apostles had proclaimed it, a gift of God breaking into history from beyond: it was a human achievement, the product of social amelioration, culture and scientific planning."[2]

He goes on to criticize liberal theology's reduced emphasis on atonement and redemption,[3] its concept of the Fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man,[4] its conception of Jesus as the pioneer of progress,[5] and its understanding of the preacher as a purveyor of religious homilies and ethical uplift.[6]

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[1]Sometimes, he would even take the more negative aspects and transform them into somewhat more positive aspects. For example, sin is more often presented in a corporate sense as the world's sin or man's sin than it is in a personal sense as your sin. See, Stewart, Warrack, 1943, pp. 79-87.

[2]Stewart, Warrack, 1943, pp. 15-16.

[3]Ibid., p. 16.

[4]Ibid., p. 30 and 62 respectively.

[5]Ibid., p. 16.

[6]Ibid.

Despite his critique of liberal theology, he is not willing to follow the course being advocated by Karl Barth, et. al. As he writes,

> "Once again, there are those for whom the pressure of disillusionment has resulted in theological irrationalism. Man, according to this view, is so radically corrupt that there is no point of his nature left at which the living God can take hold. If ever he was made in the divine image, so completely has that image been obliterated that to talk of fellowship between man and his Creator is downright sophistry and self-deception. The light of reason itself is treacherous and perfidious."[1]

For Stewart, "God intends His pilgrims to struggle through the Slough of Despond, not to make it their theological home."[2]

Even though Stewart is quite critical of liberal theology, he does not go as far as the Barthians. He would not abide the excesses of theological liberalism produced by its overly optimistic perspectives; but, at the same time, he does not abandon it completely. He appears to moderate and modify its excesses, but he perceives no reason to abandon it completely.[3] His theological slant can reasonably be said to be post-liberal in that he is critical but would not make a radical break with liberal theology.[4]

Turning now from his theological slant, one notes that Stewart also argues for the more personal and subjective aspects of Biblical

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[1]Stewart, Warrack, 1943, p. 19.

[2]Ibid., p. 20.

[3]See, Brevard S. Childs, Biblical Theology in Crisis (Philadelphia, Westminster Press, 1970), p. 24.

[4]For a further clarification of the term "post-liberal theology," see J. Maquarrie, Twentieth-Century Religious Thought: The Frontiers of Philosophy and Theology, 1900-1908 (London, SCM Press, 1981), pp. 339-350.

interpretation. He posits that the Bible is a vehicle through which God did and continues to speak his message.[1] He writes:

> "Let us give ourselves day by day to the prayerful and meditative study of the Word, listening to hear what God the Lord will speak ...."[2]

He further suggests that the Bible is not to be used as a "mere hunting ground for texts," but as a devotional aid through which we grow in grace.[3] This devotional usage of Scripture and its revelatory capacity would create an avenue for a more subjective encounter with Biblical material. This encounter would, in its turn, affect how he understands the meaning of a particular text.[4]

In addition, Stewart also emphasizes the importance of personal experience in the apprehension of truth.[5] He writes:

> "But how different it is when, like the apostles, the twentieth-century preacher can declare "my Gospel," when he is manifestly building not on rumor and hear-say but on the proved facts of his own experience, ..."[6]

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[1]Stewart, Warrack, 1943, p. 110.

[2]Ibid., p. 108.

[3]Ibid.

[4]In the private interview, when Stewart was asked if a preacher should allow his devotional life to help him to interpret Biblical material for preaching, he replied: "Certainly, I don't think he can begin to interpret it without having this background of real devotional life. Unless the minister is very much a man of prayer, all of his other work will be in vain including his preaching."

[5]Ibid., pp. 216-219.

[6]Ibid., p. 217.

In his view, a preacher must be possessed by the word "as a living, personal experience."[1] He goes as far as to say that a preacher's first-hand communion with God is the "fundamental resource" of preaching.[2] This personal apprehension of truth by first-hand knowledge and experience also participates in formulating an overall perspective.[3] This perspective will again affect how Stewart perceives the meaning of Biblical subject matter.

In evaluating Stewart's overall method of Biblical interpretation for preaching, it is clear that he has a set of priorities which affected how he interpreted a particular text. He esteems highly exegetical honesty, yet he also permits a more than literal exegesis of the text. He regards expository preaching as the most valuable kind, but he admits that there are other distinctly different types; i.e., doctrinal, ethical, devotional, and so forth.[4] He considers

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., p. 105.

[3] Arising again out of the private interview, when Stewart was asked directly if a preacher should allow his theology to affect how he exegeted a text, he replied, "You can't keep your theology out of it. It is part of yourself. It is all that you have experienced in the past, by the grace of God, has helped to mold it. And it has been the action of the Holy Spirit upon your own spirit, interpenetrating your spirit, in all the experiences of your secular life as well as the sacred. And, therefore, becomes a bit of yourself. It would be unnatural to start re-interpreting a Scriptural passage as if all of that did not exist."

[4] James S. Stewart, Exposition and Encounter; Preaching in the Context of Worship (Birmingham, The Berean Press, 1957), pp. 4-5.

the wider view, the kerygma, and his liberal evangelical theology as important criteria in understanding Biblical subject matter. Furthermore, he insists that a preacher allow the more subjective influences such as one's devotional life, one's religious experience, and the revelatory capacity of Scripture to affect how a person interprets a text for preaching. All of these are to influence how a preacher interprets Biblical subject matter, yet Stewart does not indicate a methodological order nor does he prescribe a set of priorities by which to value these factors.

From a careful survey of his sermons during this early period in Stewart's career, one could say that he often gives the highest priority to proclaiming the mighty acts of God as recorded in the apostolic kerygma and interpreted through his liberal evangelical theology. His sermons are more often theological than they are exegetical or expository. Even so, if one considers the information in his Warrack lectures alone, then it would appear that all of the previously listed interpretative factors are of equal significance.

The Other Lecturers of the Decade

Most of the other lecturers of the 1940s did not go into as much detail about Biblical interpretation for preaching as did Stewart. Because of the nature of their lectures, neither Milligan nor Cockburn

had much to say about the topic of Biblical interpretation. Notably, McIntyre was the only other lecturer who considered this topic in any kind of depth. Some aspects of his interpretative method, which differ appreciably from those of Stewart, will be dealt with separately in the next section. In this section, however, the aim will be to identify certain general areas of concurrence.

Like Stewart, most of these other lecturers put forward that a sermon should be founded upon the accurate exegesis of the text.[1] Characteristically, Farmer wrote:

> "That is one reason why honest and sound exegesis of the text is so important. To twist a text to your message, even if it be a great and true message, imparts a flavour of sham and pretense to the whole thing."[2]

Although the criteria for sound exegesis might have varied slightly from lecturer to lecturer, the value of scholarly and technical exegesis is consistently upheld.

In describing the aim of exegesis, McIntyre wrote: "You have no right to make the Bible serve your convenience. You must try your best to find out what it means, and preach that only."[3] He indicated that one should ask why a text was written and how it was written.[4]

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[1]Farmer, Warrack, 1941, p. 73; Jeffrey, Warrack, 1948, pp. 38-39; McIntyre, Warrack, 1949, p. 48; and Cockburn, Warrack, 1945, V, pp. 11-12.

[2]Farmer, Warrack, 1941, p. 73.

[3]R. E. McIntyre, Warrack, 1949, p. 48.

[4]Ibid., p. 44.

He also warned against choosing texts which were personally convenient and reading into them whatever meaning one wants.[1] For these others, like Stewart, exegesis was taken for granted as one of the preacher's duties.

Although some of the lecturers affirmed the importance of accurate exegesis, like Stewart, some of them were also unafraid of pursuing a more than literal exegesis of the text.[2] This kind of exegesis is found quite frequently in the sermons of Jeffrey.[3] McIntyre justified this by stating:

> "An interpretation (of a Biblical text) may be evangelically sound even though it is based on a doubtful exegesis, just as Drinkwater's play 'Abraham Lincoln' is 'wrong in all of its details, yet right in its essential message.'"[4]

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[1] R. E. McIntyre, Warrack, 1949, p. 48. See also p. 37.

[2] It must be noted here that Farmer's sermons rarely employed this more than literal exegesis. He did speculate about the inner feelings of Biblical characters, and he did use his creative imagination to fill out the text, but he did not appear to have used a text in the way Stewart did in his sermon on the four anchors. Sometimes, Farmer would use a text as a springboard to a discussion of a theological doctrine in its fullness, but he does not seem to have interpreted any texts in an allegorical fashion. See: H. H. Farmer, The Healing Cross, Further Studies in the Christian Interpretation of Life (London, Nisbet and Co., 1938).

[3] For example, see: George Johnstone Jeffrey, "The Iron Gates of Life," in his Christian Resources (London, James Clarke and Co., 1943), pp. 120-125.

[4] McIntyre, Warrack, 1949, p. 52.

He gave his approval to this sort of exegesis because it is the paradigm provided by the preaching of the apostles.[1] This more than literal use of the text is very similar to Stewart's concept of allegorical exegesis.

In keeping with Stewart's suggestions encouraging the occasional usage of the wider view, that is, founding a sermon upon a whole passage, narrative, or book of Scripture, some of the others employed analogous interpretative methods. In order to achieve similar results, Jeffrey would link together a group of interrelated texts. This he called "concatenations of texts."[2] Moreover, McIntyre recommended using a whole chapter or book as the foundation for a sermon.[3] Furthermore, Farmer and Cockburn placed a significant emphasis upon doctrinal preaching.[4] Even though they would start with a particular text, they would quickly go beyond the meaning of the initial text as they explained the theological concept.[5] This would often include

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[1]McIntyre, Warrack, 1949, pp. 51-53.

[2]Jeffrey, Warrack, 1948, pp. 43-44. As an example, he noted, "Finally, I recall a most effective sermon taken from the opening verses of three consecutive chapters in Genesis - the seventh, eighth, and ninth. The first may be condensed into three words, 'God called Noah;' the second reads, 'God remembered Noah;' the last, 'God blessed Noah;' three stages in the soul's experience of the grace of God."

[3]McIntyre, Warrack, 1949, pp. 40-44. Note also, R.E. McIntyre, "The Message of Mark's Gospel," in his Collected Sermons (Edinburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts held at New College Library, n.d.), (text Mark 4:41).

[4]Farmer, Warrack, 1941, p. 143 and Cockburn, Warrack, 1945, V, pp. 2-3.

[5]See H.H. Farmer, "Forgiveness," in his The Healing Cross, pp. 113-123, and Cockburn, Warrack, V, 1945, p. 2.

drawing together other Biblical passages which further elucidated the theological concept under consideration. Each in their own fashion encouraged the occasional use of the wider view.

As regards some central content that would provide the primary themes for preaching, none of the other lecturers focused upon the apostolic kerygma as did Stewart.[1] Even so, some of them referred to preaching as the proclamation of the gospel.[2] Some were very clear in defining what they meant by this term. For instance, McIntyre wrote,

> "There is but one Gospel, that God so loved the world that 'at a certain point in history His very Son appeared among men, died for their sins upon the Cross, rose again from the dead, and is now present with His people to succour and redeem in life and death.' Above all else we are commissioned to proclaim that Gospel."[3]

Others were rather unclear, but to say that they perceived the central affirmations of the gospel as providing the main themes for preaching goes without saying.[4]

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[1]McIntyre came close to asserting such a viewpoint. He talked of the apostles' preaching as being exemplary in both content and form, but he did not employ the term kerygma. See McIntyre, Warrack, 1949, pp. 51-53.

[2]See Farmer, Warrack, 1941, p. 22; Cockburn, Warrack, 1945, I, p. 1f.; Jeffrey, Warrack, 1948, pp. 10-11.

[3]McIntyre, Warrack, 1945, I, pp. 1-6.

[4]See Cockburn, Warrack, I, 1945, pp. 1-6. Throughout all of his lectures, Cockburn repeatedly used the term gospel, but he nowhere stated its definition. He appears to have assumed that the reader knew what it meant. See also, Jeffrey, Warrack, pp. 11, 16, and 19. His perception of the gospel appears to have been captured in the quote "This grace wherein we stand". What he meant by this is somewhat unclear. The closest he comes to defining it is when he noted the above quote and stated, "There is your theme and your inspiration for a lifetime, the preaching, with glowing and growing conviction, of God's free, unmerited mercy in Christ Jesus to the sinful sons of men."

Even though the lecturers of this decade all possessed varying theological slants, there were some interesting commonalities. Within the general theological orientation of liberal evangelicalism, A. C. Cheyne not only included Stewart but Jeffrey and McIntyre as well.[1] This was a perceptive insight because in certain ways they shared much in common.[2] Like Stewart, Jeffrey and McIntyre were both concerned with propagating the gospel and deepening conviction. This is evident in both their lectures and sermons.[3] Their theological slants exhibited the influences of liberal theology, but they did not yield to its excesses. Very much evident in Jeffrey's sermons and less so in those of McIntyre was the positive context out of which they interpreted the basics of the Christian faith. Although these men shared these and other similarities, it must not be assumed that their theological slants were identical.[4]

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[1]A. C. Cheyne, The Transforming of the Kirk, p. 194.

[2]See Ibid., pp. 194-195. Cheyne notes that these men shared a "considerable emphasis on social as well as individual righteousness, and were above all concerned to commend the Gospel in terms which their contemporaries could understand." They certainly shared both of these.

[3]For example, see: Jeffrey, Warrack, 1948, pp. 17-18, and George Johnstone Jeffrey, "When Christ Takes Over," in his Christian Intimacies: The Life of the Spirit in Peace and War (London, James Clarke & Co., 1941), pp. 11-19; and McIntyre, Warrack, 1949, pp. 4-5, and R. E. McIntyre, "Christ as King," in his Collected Sermons, (text Acts 17:6-7).

[4]Jeffrey was actually somewhat more inclined toward liberal theology, and McIntyre much less so than Stewart, but none of these men were systematic about their theological positions.

Here again, like Stewart, Farmer and Cockburn were clearly critical of some of the more excessive claims of liberal theology.[1] In his theological writings, Farmer sought to re-establish certain themes which tended to have been neglected in liberalism.[2] Prominent among these were the sinfulness of man and the divine initiative in grace and revelation. In a similar fashion to Farmer, Cockburn insisted that the Church proclaim a message that re-asserted the sovereignty of God, the divinity of Christ, and a more balanced doctrine of man.[3] Both the lectures of Farmer and Cockburn exhibited the influence of Barthian theology.[4]

Although the lectures of Farmer and Cockburn showed the impact of Barthian theology, they were also critical. Neither of them would support the more radical positions of the theology of crisis. Cockburn summed up his reaction as follows.

> "Karl Barth's theology of crisis, promulgated as a result of his thinking during the War of 1914-1918, almost amounted to a rediscovery of the sovereignty of God, so silted up had that truth become by the advances in comfort and in sense of power in human life; like most theologies born in a crisis it tends to partake of the times in which it was born and so, rather to under-estimate the place and possibilities of the human soul in face of God, and to enlarge the

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[1]For example, see: Herbert H. Farmer, God and Men (London, Nisbet and Co., 1948), pp. 88-95; and Cockburn, Warrack, 1945, V, p. 5.

[2]For a lucid analysis of his theological position, see: J. Macquarrie, Twentieth Century Religious Thought, p. 339-344.

[3]Cockburn considered these issues to be of such significance that he dedicated almost a full lecture to each of them.

[4]For example, see: Farmer, Warrack, 1941, pp. 17-18; and Cockburn, Warrack, 1945, III, p. 2.

> gulf between God and man so terrifically that it becomes difficult to see how it can be bridged at all .... 'Barth's theology is too steep,' as a foreign theologian put it to me once in conversation. As a protest against weak and sentimental thinking about God, Barth's theology has been a cleansing blast of utmost significance and worth; the Christian Church will ever be his debtor, even when it cannot digest all his teaching."[1]

As for Farmer, he might not have been as straight-forward in his estimate of Barthian theology as a whole, but he was critical of what he perceived to be its excesses.[2]

Turning now to consider the more subjective side of Biblical interpretation, one also discovers some further concurrences between Stewart's views and those of the other lecturers. The revelatory capacity of Scripture is forthrightly stated in Farmer's lectures.

> "I know that the Bible is unique among books, that the spirit of God can and does speak to our present condition and situation through it."[3]

Although the other lecturers did not directly state this contention in their lectures, it is evident that they generally held this opinion.[4]

As regards the role of religious experience in apprehending divine truth, this too was valued highly by these other lecturers. Milligan spoke of how the experience of God was mediated by the activity of the

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[1]Cockburn, Warrack, 1945, III, pp. 2-3.

[2]For example, see: Herbert H. Farmer, Towards Belief in God (London, S.C.M. Press, 1942), Vol. I, p. xi; and Farmer, Warrack, 1941, p. 29.

[3]Farmer, Warrack, 1941, p. 104.

[4]Milligan, Warrack, 1940, p. 56; Cockburn, Warrack, 1945, pp. 11-17; Jeffrey, Warrack, 1948, pp. 21-24; and McIntyre, Warrack, 1949, p. 80.

Holy Spirit.[1] For Farmer, religious experience understood in terms of personal encounter was the primary way in which he believed God revealed himself.[2] In Jeffrey's opinion, religious experience would provide ample illustrations of Biblical truth.[3] As for McIntyre, the passages in Scripture which most closely corresponded with our own religious experience would be those upon which we would preach most effectively.[4] Each of these men in their different ways attached considerable importance to the role of religious experience as did Stewart.[5]

Finally, like Stewart, some of the other lecturers placed a significant emphasis upon the importance of a preacher's devotional life. This is especially true of Milligan and Jeffrey. In Milligan's view,

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[1]Milligan, Warrack, 1940, p. 28.

[2]H. H. Farmer, The World and God: A Study of Prayer, Providence and Miracle in Christian Experience (London, Nisbet and Co., Revised Ed., 1939), p. 28.

[3]Jeffrey, Warrack, 1948, p. 30. As he noted elsewhere, "When this sense of God, as the Great Searcher of hearts, deepens in us with the years, then, with the Bible in our hands, we need never be at a loss for that spiritual insight which is the first requisite of the true preacher.", p. 24.

[4]McIntyre, Warrack, 1949, p. 63. As he noted elsewhere, "Originality in a preacher is first-hand testimony to what he has seen and heard; it is the tribute which he pays in his own peculiar way to truth that has authenticated itself in his experience.", pp. 108-109.

[5]J. Hutchison Cockburn, It's My Belief (London, Epworth Press, 1953), pp. 26-29. Although Cockburn does not mention the role of religious experience in his Warrack lectures, in this book he spoke of his religious experience as confirmation of his faith and a means through which God reveals his truth.

preaching was considered to be a means of grace through which others were led to realize the presence of God.[1] This spiritual aim was always to remain the most important.[2] If a preacher did not draw deeply from the channels of divine grace, then how could he lead others to them.[3] This made this preacher's spiritual life of paramount importance to his preaching.

Moreover, Jeffrey devoted an entire lecture to the preacher's devotional life. He contended that the Scriptures are "the supreme source of devotional inspiration."[4] According to him, one is "to read the Bible not 'lusting for texts,' but to allow it to make its own impression on the waiting mind and heart."[5] This devotional reading of the text besides nurturing the soul also provides ideas for sermons. Similar to Stewart, Jeffrey and Milligan attributed much to the significance of a preacher's devotional life.

From this evidence, it is clear that there was a certain measure of concurrence between the views of these other lecturers and those of Stewart regarding Biblical interpretation for preaching. Even though these others, like Stewart, encouraged accurate exegesis, they were unafraid of going beyond the meaning of the particular text upon

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[1]Milligan, Warrack, 1940, pp. 2-3.

[2]Oswald B. Milligan, The Practice of Prayer (Edinburgh, Church of Scotland Committee on Publications, 1938), p. 78.

[3]Milligan, Warrack, 1940, pp. 2-3.

[4]Jeffrey, Warrack, 1948, p. 78.

[5]Ibid.

which the sermon was founded. They allowed the wider view, their concept of the gospel, their theological slants, and various subjective factors to affect how they interpreted the meaning of the Biblical text. Although the amount of importance attached to any one of these factors varied from lecturer to lecturer, none of them prescribed a specific interpretative method or a set of priorities by which to adduce the importance of one over the other.

From a survey of their sermons, roundabout this period, one could say that in actual practice they gave highest priority most often to their understanding of the gospel or their individual theological positions. For instance, Farmer's sermons were often little more than expositions of theological doctrine. Moreover, Jeffrey's sermons were more often than not attempts to commend his understanding of the gospel in terms relevant to contemporary people. This approach to Biblical interpretation for preaching was unlike MacGregor's which was much more related to the text and its exposition. The only exception to this generality was McIntyre.

Robert Edmond McIntyre

McIntyre was the exception because his recommendations regarding Biblical interpretation were more oriented toward scholarly and objective interpretative methods than were the others of this decade. Now, this is not to say that he was radically unlike the others. His theological slant was very similar to Stewart's and Jeffrey's. What is implied here is that McIntyre appeared more cognizant of the objective side of Biblical interpretation than did the others. It was simply a matter of degree. In comparison with the others, he gave much more consideration and credence to the objective aspects of interpretation.

For instance, McIntyre was the only lecturer of this decade to insist that preachers make use of their Greek New Testaments. As he wrote:

> "Let me recommend you, when you prepare to preach from a New Testament text, not to content yourselves with what a commentator tells you the Greek meant. Make it your invariable habit to look at the Greek words for yourself, and then to turn these words up in your lexicon, and when you have made sure what their exact significance is, turn up the English words in your dictionaries."[1]

Elsewhere in his lectures, he names the particular concordance (Young's)[2] and Greek to English lexicons (Liddell and Scott, or Grimm-Thayer)[3] which a preacher should use in his interpretative preparation. He was the only lecturer of the decade to give such content to describing and examplifying how one should do exegesis.

Here again, McIntyre was also unique because of the extensive use he made of literary criticism. Unlike the others, he was inclined to analyze the overall qualities of a writing,[4] the style of its author,[5] and the themes contained therein.[6] He was also concerned about literary form, i.e. parable, miracle story, etc., and how to

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[1]McIntyre, Warrack, 1949, p. 56.

[2]Ibid., p. 88.

[3]Ibid., p. 91.

[4]Ibid., pp. 72-73.

[5]Ibid., pp. 60-62.

[6]Ibid., p. 72.

interpret these specific forms appropriately.[1] Furthermore, he speculated on the origins and the transmission of the synoptic gospels.[2] He was the only lecturer of this period to make such extensive use of literary criticism.

Even though he made use of literary criticism, McIntyre was not prepared to go as far as form critics. He wrote:

> "That the New Testament's witness to Christ was built up little by little as the Holy Spirit took the things of Jesus Christ and showed them to the disciples, I readily admit. But that the Early Church invented a Gospel and then fabricated a Christ to justify it, I decline to believe: first, because the Early Church, Paul included, could not have done it; and second, because the residual Jesus left by Form Criticism could not have created a Church to invent His Gospel for Him."[3]

As a specific example of his inability to accept the findings of the form critics, he noted Bultmann's conclusions regarding "the man taken with palsy."[4] In this story, he would not agree with Bultmann's supposition that the statement, "Son, be of good cheer; thy sins be forgiven thee" was an insertion by the later Church to justify its practice of absolution. He later said that "Criticism to be more effective, must be less suspicious and more generous."[5] His analysis of form criticism was the first of its kind in the lectures of this decade.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 66-67.

[2] Ibid., pp. 60-62.

[3] Ibid., p. 56.

[4] Ibid., p. 55.

[5] Ibid.

Moreover, McIntyre was the only one to devote an entire lecture to the use of the Old Testament in preaching and teaching. For him, the Old Testament was a witness to God's self-revelation in history.[1] According to his view, it is to be understood in the light of Christ and finds its fulfillment in the New Testament.[2] Both are significantly related to each other, and one without the other is incomplete. Even so, he qualifies these beliefs by saying "it does not follow that every verse in the Old Testament is crystal clear in its meaning because we read it in the light of Christ."[3] Because it was so understood, he stipulated that the Old Testament must be treated with the utmost of scholarly respect.[4] McIntyre showed a concern for properly interpreting the Old Testament that was not so forthright in the other lectures.

McIntyre encouraged his listeners to keep their preaching carefully Biblical.[5] For him, the Bible was the source of the preacher's authority. As he stated: "We stand before our people as servants of the Word contained in these Scriptures, and apart from that Word we have no right to speak in that particular place."[6] Although the other lecturers

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[1]R. E. McIntyre, Clue to the Old Testament: How to Find Meaning in its Books (Edinburgh, Church of Scotland Publications Committee, n.d.), p. 23.

[2]McIntyre, Warrack, 1949, p. 29.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Ibid., p. 74.

[6]Ibid., p. 8.

might have said something in a similar vein, in actual practice McIntyre, as a general rule, kept his sermons closer to the text than any of the others.

For example, in his sermon entitled "The Widow's Mites," McIntyre gave almost half the content to an exposition of the text. He begins by re-creating the scene and the historical context of the story.[1] He proceeds to note certain temple regulations regarding the amount to be given.[2] He then comments upon the nature of the gift and Jesus' statement about the widow.[3] Throughout the rest of his sermon aimed at stewardship, he keeps the point of the story in the forefront of his application. This adherence to the meaning of the text was not rigidly applied in all his sermons, but nonetheless his sermons on the whole were more closely related to the text than were those of the others.

Compared to the other lectures of this decade, McIntyre exhibited within his Lectureship the deepest concern for the objective side of Biblical interpretation. Clearly, he is indeed the only lecturer of the 1940s to dedicate two entire lectures to the usage of Scripture for preaching. Moreover, his recommendations to use the Greek New Testament, a concordance which lists the Greek and Hebrew equivalents, and two particular Greek to English lexicons, showed a strong interest in scholarly exegetical tools and methods. Furthermore, his extensive usage of literary criticism, his rejection of some of the suppositions

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[1]R. E. McIntyre, "The Widow's Mites," in his Collected Sermons, text: Mark xii, 41-42, pp. 1-2.

[2]Ibid., p. 2.

[3]Ibid., pp. 2-3.

of form criticism, and his acquaintance with the work of Bultmann were unique to his lectures. Now, it is not as if he completely neglects the more subjective aspects of interpretation. As was made clear in the previous section, he was very much concerned with these aspects, but compared to the others he exhibits a regard for the objective side of Biblical interpretation that outweighed any of the other lecturers of this decade.

Summation

Reflecting back over the various lecturers' recommendations and actual practices of Biblical interpretation for preaching, one can perceive subtle but significant developments even within this decade. Since MacGregor's views were reminiscent of an earlier generation, his Lectureship proved to be a good starting point. In his lectures and other writings, he stressed the importance and value of the more subjective aspects of Biblical interpretation almost to the exclusion of any consideration of the more objective aspects. One can perceive this in his insistence upon "real exegesis" as opposed to mere "verbal exegesis," and through the importance he ascribes to personal religious experience, the preacher's devotional life, and the revelatory capacity of the Holy Spirit in ascertaining the meaning of Biblical subject matter. Although he both understood and employed these more scholarly and objective aspects, his content was given primarily to elucidating and emphasizing the more subjective side of interpretation.

Theologically, as well, MacGregor held viewpoints which were also reminiscent of an earlier generation. His was a traditional Scots Calvinism modified by the results of higher criticism and effected to a

degree by the tenets of Liberal Theology. Evidence of this can be seen in his exposition of Genesis 3:15 where man's ability to overcome moral evil is assessed positively. Although MacGregor was no adherent of any particular school of theology, it was evident from his works that he was unaffected by the thought of Karl Barth and by the more recent developments in Biblical Criticism. Both his understanding of Biblical interpretation and his particular theological slant show him to be of an earlier generation than the rest of the lecturers of this decade.

More representative were the recommendations and practices of Stewart. Within his suggestions on how to do Biblical interpretation, he stressed the importance of accurate exegesis and of understanding the meaning of a text within its context. Even so, he was just as willing to permit an occasional more than literal, or allegorical, interpretation of the text. He also encouraged the use of the wider view instead of slavishly adhering to the convention of expositing a single text or phrase. Moreover, in his actual practice, his understanding of the gospel derived from the apostolic kerygma became a matrix of meaning by which to assess and discern the meaning of any particular text. These were very much in keeping with the recommendations and practices of the other lecturers of the 1940s.

Like MacGregor and the other lecturers, Stewart noted the significance of the more subjective aspects of interpretation. Personal religious experience, the preacher's devotional life, and the revelatory power of the Holy Spirit are all considered means by which one comes to comprehend the meaning of Biblical subject matter. Even so, the amount

of emphasis placed upon these is less in comparison to that placed upon them by MacGregor. Stewart and the others appear to view both the subjective and objective aspects as equally important, while MacGregor appears to understand the former as somewhat more important.

Theologically, too, Stewart's viewpoints were more in keeping with the other lecturers of the decade than were MacGregor's. It is evident that Stewart's theology was informed and influenced by some of the tenets of Liberal Theology, but he was also critical of its weaknesses. Moreover, it is clear that he was aware of the thought of Karl Barth, yet again he was critical of its extremes. Although the lecturers vary significantly in overall viewpoints, it is certain that they were more aware of and influenced by the more recent developments in theological scholarship than was MacGregor.

Within the final Lectureship of the 1940s, McIntyre shows more concern for the objective aspects of Biblical interpretation than did any of the previous lecturers. In fact, he was the only one to devote two of his lectures to the usage of Scriptures in preaching and teaching. His encouragement to employ the Greek New Testament and other scholarly exegetical tools, his discussion of literary and form criticism, and his acquaintance with the work of Rudolf Bultmann exhibit an unequalled depth of concern. It is not to say that his views were radically unlike Stewart's and the others. It is just that in comparison with them, the consideration and credence he gives to these more objective and scholarly aspects is significantly greater.

Tying together these observations, one can perceive subtle but significant changes of emphasis within the Warrack Lectureships of the 1940s. From MacGregor, through Stewart and the others, to McIntyre, these changes point toward several developmental directions. First, it appears as if there is a general trend toward the greater valuation of the more objective aspects of interpretation. This can be seen in the increasing regard for accurate scholarly exegesis and the lessening of emphasis upon the more subjective aspects. By the time of the final Lectureship, one also notes the initial impact of literary and form critical studies. Each of these in their own way lend credence to this general trend.

Second, one also can perceive general changes in overall theological perspective. In MacGregor's lectures, one notes the lessening influence of traditional Scots Calvinism created by the results of Higher Criticism and the influence of Liberal Theology. In the lectures of Stewart and the others, one sees a growing dissatisfaction with the excesses of Liberal Theology but an unwillingness to yield some of its specific gains. No doubt, this was in part due to the advent of Barthian theology, but at this point the work of Barth is being met with strong criticism.[1] Although the evidence for these general overall trends is not completely conclusive, it will be further confirmed within the Lectureships which are to follow.

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[1]What was known at this time was mainly the earlier work of Barth.

Chapter Two

Developments in Biblical Interpretation Within the Warrack Lectureships of the 1950s

The purpose of this chapter is essentially the same as the first. It will be to report and substantiate certain developments in the interpretation of the Bible for preaching found within the Warrack Lectureships of the 1950s. Here again, this will be accomplished by examining the various lecturers' recommendations regarding the interpretation of Biblical subject matter and, if necessary, their particular methods of interpretation. These will then be compared and contrasted to those of the preceeding Lectureships to see if they show change and point in some developmental direction. A few general observations and then the task will begin.

In the decade of the 1950s, Biblical interpretation received a great deal more attention than it did in the 1940s. Information about it is found in eight of the nine Lectureships of this period. Craig dedicated his entire Lectureship to a discussion of Biblical Criticism. Moreover, Cowan gave two lectures on expository preaching of the Old and New Testaments. Read and Menzies both devoted a lecture to a discussion of the nature of Biblical subject matter. In this decade, the concern about Biblical interpretation for preaching is much greater than in the previous one.

Furthermore, the information about Biblical interpretation found in these lectures is much more detailed. Specific interpretative problems like understanding the miracle stores, the resurrection narratives,

and the apocalyptic literature are examined. Bultmann's programme of demythologizing and his views regarding "Weltanschauung" are discussed. By comparison, the lecturers of the 1950s go into much more detail about Biblical interpretation than did those of the 1940s.

Lastly, the information is also focused upon the more technical and objective side of Biblical interpretation. Strong emphases placed upon religious experience and the devotional use of Scripture found in the 1940s diminish in the 1950s. The same is true for the recommendations encouraging the occasional usage of a more than literal exegesis of the text. Overall, the importance of the more subjective aspects is played down while the more objective ones are discussed at length and heartily recommended.

Archibald Campbell Craig

Of all the lecturers of the 1950s, A. C. Craig examined the topic of Biblical interpretation in the greatest detail. In his first lecture, he described why this examination was necessary. He contended that there was a widespread ignorance concerning the nature of the Bible and an uncertainty regarding its authority.[1] He claimed that "it is precisely modern science which has blown upon the traditional view of the Bible and necessitated some kind of reinterpretation of it."[2] The need for this reinterpretation prompted him to discuss in depth the task of Biblical criticism for preaching.

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[1]Craig, Warrack, 1952, p. 23.

[2]Ibid., p. 25.

After describing the reasons behind his lectures, he went on to place before his listeners a series of questions regarding the nature of Biblical subject matter. He wrote:

> "Are the Biblical narratives which are the carriers of the Gospel what they purport to be ... reliable accounts of historical events? Or are they admixed with symbolism, allegory, legend, myth and what not? Do they have primitive and obsolete ways of thinking, coloured by childish fancies, corrupted by error? If so, how much?"[1]

For Craig, these questions were paramount for the preacher and it was the task of Biblical criticism to help to answer them.

In his second lecture, he attempted to answer some of these questions by explaining his understanding of the nature of the Bible. Herein, he stated that the Bible possesses both a divine and human dimension.[2] Since it has a human dimension, it is rightfully subjected to "the same analytical knives and plunged in the same acid baths of criticism as are used for the better understanding of all other ancient writings."[3] He then went on to say:

> "Labouring thus, it has been the inestimable service of the critics to illumine the long and complex process by which this truly human body of literature came into existence, to characterize the various literary media used by the writers, and substantially to improve our knowledge of what they originally wrote and our understanding of what they meant by it."[4]

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[1] Ibid., p. 24.

[2] Ibid., p. 34.

[3] A. C. Craig, "The Church in the World," (Edinburgh, The Church of Scotland Committee on Publications, 1961), p. 5.

[4] Craig, Warrack, 1952, p. 35.

Because of their labours, "the Bible has been brought into organic relationship with the modern scientific conception of history."[1] The critics have thus transformed the Bible "from stained glass into flesh and blood."[2]

Furthermore, Craig noted that "a not unimpressive measure of agreement has been reached in ecumenical circles regarding the methods by which the Christian message is to be derived from Scripture."[3] He cited as evidence of this phenomenon the surprising measure of agreement reached by the scholars who attended the Ecumenical Study Conference at Wadham College in 1949. Although Craig was somewhat skeptical of those who proclaimed that a new, golden "post-critical" era had arrived, he did admit that in the areas of Biblical criticism, dogmatics, and hermeneutics, "three realms of study most directly contributing to the substance of preaching," there was a certain measure of overall agreement.[4]

Even though Craig asserted that the Bible possessed a human dimension and was therefore rightfully subjected to the acid baths of criticism, he also held that it possessed a divine dimension as well. He claimed that it "can only be understood by that faith which is the gift of God's Spirit."[5] Although he stated this contention, he did not spend

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., p. 32.

[4] Ibid., p. 33.

[5] Ibid., p. 35.

time working out its implications until later on in his Lectureship. His concern at this point remained almost exclusively with the more objective aspects of Biblical criticism.

Since he adhered to this view that the Bible possessed both a divine and human dimension, he argued that preachers base every sermon upon a sound exegesis of Scripture using the best of critical scholarship. He wrote:

> "An elementary point here is that every sermon you preach ought to rest on a sound exegesis of Scripture. Let that be the watermark of the paper you write on, and count it sin to use any other. This does not mean, ... that to people hungering for spiritual bread you will offer critical stones, doling out J, E, and P, for instance, as if these were the very latest thing in evangelical vitamins, and not just Moses dustily demosaicized. It does mean that you will regard it as an obligation of professional honour never to preach inconsistently with a sound critical exegesis."[1]

Even so, he further submitted that more was necessary than simply this critical substructure.

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[1]Ibid., pp. 47-48. In a private interview conducted on 15 September 1983, Craig reiterated this same point by saying: "I want to be quite sure, absolutely sure, that I do not at any time betray my education in Biblical scholarship. I must be quite sure that I have understood a text to the very best of my ability under the light of modern scholarship .... One of the rules that I would make, that I used to say; sound exegesis, by which I mean sound interpretation of the text, ought to be the watermark of the paper on which your sermons are written." For Craig, scholarship was perceived as a kind of inner integrity that led him into the depths of the Spirit. Asked further questions about his exegetical method, he noted that he employed a Greek New Testament with various translations like the King James and Moffat's on either side and these were ringed round by several commentaries. This exercise was to insure that he had understood the text properly. He also noted that he did not know Hebrew. Moreover, he stated that he would preach on topics or doctrines, but he qualified this by saying that he always based these sermons upon some specific areas of Scripture. Unlike others that he knew, Craig did not use a concordance to obtain the heads for his sermon nor did he use Greek word studies as a basis for a sermon.

Because of this, he suggested that preachers should not always hold to the prevailing convention of the single phrase or text as the basis for the sermon.[1] He encouraged preachers to use the microscope and peer into the depths of the text, but he also recommended the use of the telescope. He advised his hearers to use variant methods such as employing a whole chapter or book as the basis for the sermon.[2] His insistence upon the use of these variant methods is much stronger than that of Stewart.[3]

Putting these particular views and recommendations into practice, Craig proceeded in his third lecture to analyze the interpretative problems associated with the Biblical concept of miracle. Throughout the initial part of this lecture, he built his case for the traditional view that God does act miraculously. He contended that "the God whom we confront in the Bible is a miracle-working God."[4] After establishing his argument for miracle, he went on to say that an element of the apologetic needs to be put within the sermon to provide a reasonable basis for what is believed.[5] This is necessary because modern science has called the concept of miracle into question.

After establishing that miracle is a valid concept, he then contended that it must be comprehended within the light of modern knowledge.[6] He wrote:

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[1]Ibid., p. 48.

[2]Ibid., pp. 48-49.

[3]Ibid. Compare this with Stewart, Warrack, 1943, pp. 164-166.

[4]Ibid., p. 62.

[5]Ibid., p. 68.

[6]Ibid., pp. 75-77.

> "All that has been said does not mean that when miracle is welcomed at the door, reason must fly out of the window, and science be hustled into the cellar, lest their manners disgrace the occasion. On the contrary, reason and science must strictly police the approaches to the door, in order that gate-crashers may be turned away and imposters arrested."[1]

Miracle narratives, like any other part of Scripture, are to be carefully scrutinized using the best of critical scholarship.

In order to accomplish this objective, his suggestions become more specific. He wrote:

> "We must discriminate among miracle narratives by applying to them the methods basic to literary, artistic and historical criticism, as well as to the physical sciences. Under this kind of scrutiny they may be assigned to different categories: some narratives may be judged to be instances of legend or idealized history; others, instances of symbolic poetry; still others, the results of a tradition modified and embellished in the course of its transmission; and so forth."[2]

He insisted that preachers should realize how they view a particular miracle story and then make that point of view clear in the sermon.[3]

Even though he asserted this need for critical analysis, he warned preachers that one can go too far. He advised his listeners to "never forget that the miracle narratives belong to two realms, as does the whole Bible - the realm of faith and revelation and eternity, and the realm of sight and science and history."[4] He did admit that there is a "fringe of legend" that surrounds the entire narrative of Scripture.[5]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 75-76.

[2] Ibid., p. 76.

[3] Ibid., p. 77.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid., p. 91.

It is the preacher's task to work carefully through this "fringe of legend" by employing the best of modern insights, but he reiterated that miracle is a religious concept and can be understood only within the context of faith.

In all of this, a hermeneutic is beginning to emerge. By using Biblical critical methodologies, Craig was permitting modern knowledge to help clarify the meaning of Biblical subject matter. His underlying assumption was that Biblical content needs to undergo a limited version of demythologizing before it can become reasonable. The findings of modern science needed to be accounted for as one encountered the meaning of a text. Using specifically literary and form critical methods, one can work through the "fringe of legend" and ferret out the true import of the text or passage.

Even so, Craig was unwilling to go too far in his demythologizing. For instance, he listed Bultmann's rejection of miracle as one of the possible alternatives,[1] but he clearly did not concur with this viewpoint. At those points in his arguments where he desired to proceed no further in his limited demythologizing, he would then reiterate his contention that Biblical subject matter could only be truly understood through the eyes of faith. The dilemma or paradox of the divine-human nature of the Bible was then reasserted. By using this hermeneutic, he was able to make Biblical content more reasonable to modern people and, at the same time, uphold traditional views like those about the nature of miracle.

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[1]Ibid., pp. 53-54.

He recommended that preachers should follow a similar hermeneutic even if their findings differ from his.

As regards his particular theological slant, it must be admitted that Craig arose out of the same tradition as did Stewart and McIntyre. Like them, he graduated from New College roughly within the same general period.[1] Moreover, he specifically mentioned his indebtedness to his mentors especially H. A. A. Kennedy, Adam Welch, and H. R. Mackintosh.[2] Again, like the others, Craig upheld orthodox views regarding miracle, the resurrection, and eschatology as is shown in his Warrack lectures. Even though this is all true, what makes his theological slant different from theirs was that he was much more informed and influenced by the developments in contemporary Biblical and theological scholarship.

For instance, Craig was much more affected by the work of Karl Barth. Instead of noting the import of Barth's theology and then subsequently criticizing him for going too far, Craig appeared to be much in agreement with some of his perspectives, especially Barth's critique of religious experience and his doctrine of man. As Craig wrote in one of his sermons,

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[1]McIntyre graduated from New College shortly before the start of the Great War and Craig and Stewart shortly thereafter.

[2]Craig directly stated this in the taped interview.

> "Karl Barth and his followers have done our generation the distinguished service of pressing home with power the truth that what we call 'religion' or 'religious experience' is always in danger of being on the wrong side of the contrast. The cardinal sin of man is pride, the refusal to acknowledge his deep, constitutional sinfulness and to bow before God, undergoing the experience, so bitter to pride, of being pardoned, and consenting to live in the state, so unthinkable to self-will, of entire submission to the Divine will."[1]

In this sermon, Craig nowhere attempts to buffer or balance his perspective upon the doubtfulness of religious experience or the extremity of mankind's constitutional sinfulness.

Another example of Craig being informed by contemporary scholarship was his response to the work of Rudolf Bultmann. Although Craig did not share Bultmann's radical historical skepticism regarding the authenticity of Biblical subject matter, as was evident in Craig's analysis of miracle, he did list Bultmann's perspective as one of the possible options.[2] Furthermore, Craig was also aware of Bultmann's programme of demythologizing.[3] Even though Craig was more willing to side with the opinions of scholars like David Cairns, H. H. Farmer, and C. S. Lewis,[4] he considered Bultmann's work at least worthy enough to be mentioned and criticized.

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[1]Archibald C. Craig, University Sermons (London, James Clarke and Co., 1937), pp. 60-61. Moreover, Barth is mentioned elsewhere in this collection of sermons (p. 105) and in his Warrack lectures (p. 9, 13-14, and 84-85). In all these cases, Barth is cited approvingly. Furthermore, Craig said specifically that he was greatly influenced by Barthian theology within the private taped interview.

[2]Craig, Warrack, 1952, p. 53.

[3]Ibid., p. 54.

[4]Ibid.

Furthermore, Craig was also quite critical of "the left wing of Liberalism." In particular, he spent much time refuting their denial of the corporeal resurrection of Jesus.[1] Although he did not mention him by name, the view which he summarized and then refuted sounded remarkably like that put forward by Rudolf Bultmann in his article "New Testament and Mythology."[2] Be that as it may, it is important to realize that Craig thought it significant enough to dedicate an entire lecture to clarifying the doctrine of the resurrection for preaching and to defending it against the views of "the left wing of Liberalism."

From these three examples, it is clear that Craig kept up with the scholarship of his time.[3] Even though he maintained orthodox theological viewpoints like those held by Stewart, Jeffrey, and McIntyre, he was influenced particularly by the neo-conservatism of Karl Barth. In keeping with this influence, Craig was somewhat more critical of theological liberalism than were these others. This overall influence tended to reduce the degree of emphasis that he placed upon the more positive aspects of the Christian faith. This is especially evident in Craig's sermons wherein he appeared particularly cognizant of the more negative aspects like sin, repentance, and human pride.[4] Craig clearly arose out

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[1] Ibid., pp. 86-98.

[2] See: Ibid., p. 86.

[3] Further proof of this contention can be amply provided by a quick scan of the authorities cited, the quotes, and the footnotes in his five lectures.

[4] See: Craig, University Sermons, p. v.

of the same tradition as Stewart, Jeffrey, and McIntyre, but because he was influenced by the scholarship of his time, he was, in comparison to these others, clearly less liberal in overall theological orientation.

At the beginning of his final lecture, Craig turned his attention to the more personal and subjective side of Biblical interpretation. He asked:

> "Are there texts and themes and ranges of the Christian truth which, even when we possess them in our minds and understanding from the books we have been reading and the lectures we have been hearing, we had far better avoid until 'we have served up to them'?"[1]

His point here was that personal experience has much to do with how the content of a sermon will be received and understood.[2] He went on to say "as you listen to a preacher, you begin to sense whether his words are the flowering of a life or just the frothing of a mind; whether he is a genuine traveller or only a clerk in the office of Thomas Cook and Son."[3] In his view, personal integrity was essential for preaching.

Now, Craig was not espousing a truth through personality concept of preaching. He countered this by stating that "the pulpit ought to be the voice of the teaching Church, the place where 'all the counsel of God' is declared."[4] It was not to be the place where a preacher gives "his personal certificate to certain aspects of Christian truth."[5]

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[1] Ibid., p. 101.

[2] Ibid., p. 102.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid., p. 104.

[5] Ibid., p. 105.

He admitted that there are "limitations of the natural bent of mind and personality."[1] Therefore, preachers must reach out towards a fuller understanding of the faith in order to be the authentic voice of the teaching church.

In some ways, Craig was raising this issue of the role of personal experience without going to one extreme or the other. On the one hand, it certainly is an important criterion. He encouraged preachers to speak out of their personal experiences because this yields "a power of assault" derivable from no other source and gives integrity to one's words.[2] On the other hand, this cannot become the sole criterion by which one determines what to preach since there are limitations to the personality.[3] He also encouraged preachers to be the authentic voice of the teaching church. At times, this means going beyond one's personal experience. In his view, the role of personal experience in preaching is an important one, but it is not the sole criterion by which one determines what to preach.

At this juncture, it is important to note that Craig neglected or gave little attention to some of the subjective aspects which were important to the 1940 lecturers. He did not discuss the impact of the preacher's devotional life nor his devotional reading of Scripture for preaching. The revelatory capacity of Scripture through the power

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[1] Ibid., p. 105

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

of the Holy Spirit is mentioned, but it is given little attention. Moreover, he spoke of personal religious experience not in a primary sense as one of the vehicles for revelation but in a secondary sense as supportive of revelation discovered elsewhere. Overall, his attention and emphasis were almost exclusively focused upon the more objective aspects of Biblical interpretation.

In Craig's thesis, Biblical criticism was a necessary tool to enable preachers to overcome the ever-widening gap between the suppositions of Scripture and the discoveries of modern science. By the use of these critical methods, one could penetrate the fringe of legend which obscures the truth from modern people. He hoped that the preacher's use of Biblical criticism would provide a bridge between the Church and modern culture. This is why he placed so much emphasis upon the more objective side of Biblical interpretation.

Arthur Aiken Cowan

Proceeding on to the lectures of A. A. Cowan, here again one discovers a real concern for issues related to Biblical interpretation. Cowan dedicates two of his five lectures specifically to the topic of the exposition of the Old and New Testaments for preaching. Although he does discuss some of the more theoretical aspects of interpretation, this was not his only intention. He also provides a great many examples of how he interpreted a particular text. Since he combined these intentions, the information necessary for this section will be found scattered throughout his lectures and, at times, will need to be derived

from the interpretations he offers. Unlike Craig, who dealt primarily with the more theoretical aspects of interpretation, Cowan's purpose was essentially more practical.

In his second lecture, Cowan argues for a more modern approach to Scripture. He states that "the preacher should reverently instill the more modern interpretation of the Bible, which is overdue and is more real and satisfying than fundamentalism."[1] In an example to illustrate this more modern approach, he offers his interpretation of God's address to the serpent in Genesis 3:15.[2] In his view, the text is not to be understood literally as explaining why there is an enmity between women and snakes but as an allegory. It is actually about "the stealthy approach of evil and the grim struggle after evil is found out."[3] He insists that this more modern approach to Scripture be instilled carefully and constructively within one's sermons.

One of his reasons for this is the problems modern people are having in their understanding of Biblical material. He writes:

> "The preacher knows that the initial difficulty in expounding the Bible and getting it across to modern hearers is the period costume of Biblical truth, its ancient dress, what Carlyle called 'Hebrew old clothes.' Should these be cast off as merely antique garments of thought or retained as inherent in the truth? How is one to interpret such strange forms as angels and demons, apocalypse and miracle? One has to decide whether these are only old-world symbols or an intrinsic and valuable part of the scripture message."[4]

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[1] Cowan, Warrack, 1954, p. 40. See also, p. 43.

[2] Ibid., pp. 40-43.

[3] Ibid., pp. 40-41.

[4] Ibid., p. 61

The answers to these questions must be made by the preacher before he stands in the pulpit.[1]

Because of this need for a modern approach, he does sketch an outline of his understanding of Scripture. He believes that the Bible contains the Word of God.[2] He goes on to explain how this came to be:

> "The word of God was given, imparted to devoted men by His Spirit breaking in upon their thoughts and commanding their attention and action, but their reception of the Word was sometimes faulty. As the truth was mediated through imperfect persons, it was coloured by their period vision and limited by their character, temperament and circumstances. Divine inspiration did not make law-giver, prophet and psalmist infallible .... This should be assumed in preaching."[3]

Since the Word has been coloured by imperfect persons, a need exists to work through these colourations to ascertain the true Word contained within the Bible.

In order to accomplish this task, Cowan briefly recommends how it should be done. He writes:

> "When we expound Scripture, we should ascertain the exact historical context of the passage, its local colour, its meaning for that time and the extent of its validity for all time. We should proceed on the results of the best Biblical Scholarship and come to carefully considered conclusions."[4]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., p. 37.

[3] Ibid., p. 39.

[4] Ibid., p. 40.

For him, accurate, scholarly exegesis and exposition of Biblical subject matter is one of the primary and most important components of sermon-making.[1]

Furthermore, Cowan insists that preachers keep abreast of the current developments in Biblical and theological scholarship. He argued: "How to make the Bible live as an up-to-date message requires hard desk-work, but a man does not cease to be a student and a thinker when he leaves college. He should make it a point of honour to keep himself informed of the latest conclusions of theology and of Biblical scholarship."[2] Continuing to learn and keeping up with the findings of modern scholarship were considered by Cowan as part of a minister's professional duty.

To see how he puts these theoretical conjectures into practice, one needs only to turn to his plethora of examples. One, in particular, that serves well is his exposition of the wedding at Cana where Jesus turns the water into wine (John 2:1-11).[3] Straightaway, he dismisses the notion that this is an account of an actual historical event.[4]

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[1]In actual practice, Cowan's sermons appear to have been founded upon careful exegesis and exposition of Biblical subject matter. See; Arthur A. Cowan, Captain of the Storm (London, James Clarke and Co., 1940); Crisis on the Frontier (Edinburgh, T & T Clark, 1943); and Bright is the Shaken Torch (Edinburgh, T & T Clark, 1950). A particularly good example is his sermon entitled "A Fatal Game with Two Great Eagles," in Crisis on the Frontier, pp. 141-151.

[2]Cowan, Warrack, 1954, p. 39.

[3]Ibid., pp. 64-66.

[4]Ibid., pp. 64-65.

He perceives the story to be more like a parable or an allegory.[1] The story is only a convenience to describe the remarkable ability of Jesus to transform human experience.[2]

Another example is his exposition of the feeding of the five thousand. He believes "it should be understood, not as a magical multiplication of loaves and fishes but as a generous change in the spirit of the crowd who were moved by our Lord to share their eatables so that everyone had enough. Which would be a greater miracle ...?"[3] Again, he dismisses the narrative as being an account of an actual historical event. It, too, is dressed in "Hebrew old clothes."

In his recommendations on preaching from the miracle narratives in general, he calls for careful analysis of the story. He writes:

> "Before preaching on a miracle, we should first weigh the evidence for it and then examine whether its face value or some deeper value is more in keeping with our Lord's redeeming purpose. The decisive factor is what would be most appropriate to such a One as Jesus Christ."[4]

His concept of the "Lord's redeeming purpose" and "what would be most appropriate to such a One as Jesus Christ" serve as exegetical presuppositions by which to distinguish Hebrew old clothes from Biblical truth.

In his general recommendations regarding preaching from the apocalyptic literature, he stresses the need to understand the historical period

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[1] Ibid., p. 65.

[2] Ibid., p. 66

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid., p. 67.

in which this genre was used and the purposes toward which it was written.[1] He criticizes the writings as being "often unmerciful and unspiritual, with a tendency to spectacular materialism."[2] Then he points out the "elements of permanent validity" in these writings.[3] He speaks of God as the Lord of history marching unseen towards the fulfillment of His purpose and the hope formed from this knowledge. These "elements of permanent validity" are the meanings which the preacher should discover within this sort of literature.

Following these various expositions, Cowan then proceeds to discuss "the right perspective for expounding the New Testament."[4] He writes:

> "The Bible contains the Word of God, but the complete Word of God is Jesus Christ, the Word made flesh, and Jesus Christ is the final authority by which everything in the Bible must be tested and judged."[5]

This thesis serves as a theological hermeneutic that affects his overall interpretation of Biblical material. A text or passage is to be understood in the light of one's understanding of Jesus Christ. The "Lord's redeeming purpose" and "what would be appropriate to such a One as Jesus Christ" become guides by which to determine the meaning of Biblical subject matter.

Combining these examples and his theoretical information, an interpretative pattern begins to emerge. Cowan recommends that a text or

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[1] Ibid., p. 63.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., pp. 63-64.

[4] Ibid., pp. 70-72.

[5] Ibid., p. 72.

passage should be carefully exegeted. Its historical background, its "local colour," the purpose of its author, and its literary genre should all be considered. The meaning for the time in which it was written is to be ascertained and from it should be derived its meaning for all time. These "elements of permanent validity" should then become the foundation of the sermon.

One of the major guidelines that aids a preacher to discover the meaning of a text is Jesus Christ. Since He is "the authoritative truth about the divine character and purpose,"[1] one is more able to discern the difference between "Hebrew old clothes" and the true menaing of the text. Since the Word was mediated through imperfect persons, "the redeeming purpose of the Lord" or "what would be appropriate to such a One as Jesus Christ" become ways by which one can ascertain the "elements of permanent validity."

In his interpretative pattern, one also notices that Cowan does not always exposit a single phrase or verse of Scripture as the basis for a sermon. He recommends that "a whole passage should be expounded from the modern viewpoint and in relation to life, clamping down on present problems and tensions. One does not need to waste time hunting for texts. Take a goodly slice of Scripture, and you will find much in it which insists on being tasted."[2] Throughout his entire Lectureship the examples he offers are almost all exposited from this perspective of the wider view.

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[1]Ibid.

[2]Ibid., p. 43.

As regards his particular theological slant, Cowan was clearly more inclined toward theological liberalism than were others such as Craig, McIntyre, and Stewart. His interpretations of the miracle stores and the apocalyptic literature are examples of this inclination. Furthermore, Cowan was educated at the University of Glasgow (M.A., 1903) and the United Free Church College in Glasgow (Licensed, 1906). He was therefore educated during the zenith of liberal theology's popularity within Scottish academe. This, perhaps, would help to account for his continued adherence to some of its perspectives.

Even though Cowan was more oriented toward liberal theology than were these others, he did keep up with some of the developments in contemporary Biblical and theological scholarship. Compared to Craig, McIntyre, and Stewart, Cowan was not as influenced by these recent developments, but he certainly knew and used the works of some of the more popular theological figures.

For instance, certain aspects of Barthian theology were noted by Cowan as being critically important. One such aspect was Barth's insistence upon the centrality of our evangelical task and the sovereignty of God. As he wrote:

> "Thus Karl Barth provides a necessary corrective for an arid moralism and recalls us to our evangelical task, which is to bring our hearers face to face with God as the sovereign reality."[1]

Although Cowan could not be considered a disciple of Karl Barth, he was acquainted with his work and used it when it suited his purposes.[2]

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[1] Ibid., p. 19.

[2] See, Ibid., p. 23. In addition, Cowan also employed the work of Emil Brunner in a similar fashion. See, Ibid., pp. 6, 25, 65, and 116.

This same utilitarian approach was used by Cowan with regard to the work of C. H. Dodd, Paul Tillich, and Oscar Cullman. He noted Dodd's understanding of the nature of angels[1] and realized eschatology,[2] Tillich's perspectives on the demonic[3] and the problems associated with the usage of religious language,[4] and Oscar Cullman's concept of salvation-history.[5] Although he was not an adherent of any one of these scholars, he did know of their work and employed it to support his arguments.

Turning now to consider the more personal and subjective aspects of Biblical interpretation, one discovers in Cowan's lectures a curious change of placement. There is no mention of the devotional use of Scripture for the understanding of a text or the import of the preacher's personality as a vehicle for ascertaining truth. The importance of personal experience in being able to clearly understand parts of Scripture is played down. He states that "No one is expected to preach form his own little patch of experience but rather from the funded experience of a people as recorded in the Bible."[6] These more subjective aspects remain

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[1]Ibid., p. 61.

[2]Ibid., p. 88, Cowan posited that both "realized eschatology" and "futuristic eschatology" are combined in the New Testament.

[3]Ibid., p. 62.

[4]Ibid., pp. 112-113.

[5]Ibid., p. 88. He also saw the unity of the Bible in terms of "the mighty acts of God." As he writes, "It (the Bible) is the record of God's mighty acts in fulfillment of His redeeming purpose, ..." See, Ibid., p. 16.

[6]Ibid., p. 16.

important to the overall task of preaching but not as a vehicle to discern the meaning of Biblical subject matter. They appear, more or less, relegated to the application phase of sermon construction. In Cowan's Lectureship, these more personal and subjective aspects of Biblical interpretation, so prevalent in the lectures of the 1940s, are given a different placement.

This is not to say that there are no subjective factors involved in Cowan's method of interpreting Scripture. His understanding of Jesus Christ, which serves as a guide to discovering the true meaning of a text, appears to be quite subjective. For instance, the changing of the water into wine is dismissed as an actual event because it is not truly in keeping with the character of Christ.[1] One wonders here if his personal views toward the consumption of alcoholic beverages did not affect his interpretation more than the strength of critical evidence.[2] The only point to be made is that when Cowan speaks of Biblical interpretation, his focus is almost exclusively upon the more objective aspects.

In summing up, it is evident that Cowan demonstrates a real concern for the issues related to the interpretation of Scripture. According to his recommendations, preachers should employ a more modern interpretation of the Bible, and they should do careful preparatory work before they compose their sermons. By the use of objective and scholarly methods,

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[1] Ibid., pp. 64-65.

[2] It is interesting to note that in a conversation with Professor Whyte, it was revealed that Cowan was strictly a tee-totaler.

the Hebrew old clothes are to be shed as one discovers that which has permanent validity. These elements of permanent validity are then to become the foundation from which the sermon is built. When Cowan speaks directly on how to do interpretation, his focus is almost exclusively upon the more objective and scholarly aspects.

The Other Lecturers of the Decade

In the other Lectureships of the 1950s, one does not find the same depth of concern about Biblical interpretation as is found in the lectures of Craig and Cowan.[1] Even so, there is only one Lectureship that does not treat the topic at all.[2] What one does discover is a common regard for the problems facing the modern interpreter of Scripture, and some recommendations as to how these can be resolved. Although the various lecturers have differing interpretative methods, there are some recommendations which remain fairly consistent. The following will focus upon these.

One recommendation which keeps reappearing is the need for a more modern approach to Scripture. In the first lecture of this decade,

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[1]One practical reason for this phenomenon is that the lecturers do not wish to repeat what the previous lecturers have already covered. It is clear from the forewards, introductions, and quotes that the lecturers were acquainted with the Lectureships which preceded them. What is remarkable considering this desire is that so many discuss the topic even minimally.

[2]Niles, Warrack, 1957-58. He is the only lecturer who does not discuss Biblical interpretation at all in the content of his lectures. Essentially, he does this because it lies outside the realm of his topic.

E. D. Jarvis writes:

> "Our people are constantly in touch with those who think that we are still holding the whole line of verbal inspiration from Genesis to Revelation; who are quite ignorant of what the Bible really is or sets out to be: who are quite sure that there is in the Bible a view of the universe which is completely untenable by intelligent people today."[1]

Whether this need is derived from misconceptions about the nature of Scripture or a widespread ignorance of its content[2] or is created by the discoveries of modern science[3] or the secularization of culture,[4] the contemporary interpreter can no longer assume that everything in the Bible is inerrantly true as written.

Since this need exists, most of the lecturers take time to outline their perspectives on the nature of the Bible. One sees it as "a library representing the best of a people's writing for a thousand years."[5] Another calls it a "book of divinity" in which is contained "the only authentic Word of God the human race possesses."[6] A third states that it is "the Book of our faith," and "the living, lasting Word of God we are called to speak and interpret."[7] The underlying assumption in these descriptions is that the Bible contains the Word of God but is not equivalent to God's words.

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[1] Jarvis, Warrack, 1950, p. 48.

[2] Read, Warrack, 1951, p. 43. See also Wright, Warrack, 1956, p. 34.

[3] Read, Warrack, 1951, pp. 43-44.

[4] Ibid., pp. 42-43.

[5] Jarvis, Warrack, 1950, p. 51.

[6] Menzies, Warrack, 1953, p. 130.

[7] Small, Warrack, 1959, p. 40.

Even Menzies, who holds the most conservative view of Scripture in this decade, maintains that the Bible presents problems for the interpreter. He tells his audience that the Bible is "divinely-originated, divinely-inspired, and divinely-attested,"[1] yet he also says:

> "The Bible raises many problems for the pulpit and pew alike - problems of literary, textual and historical criticism - moral problems bound up with a developing and progressive revelation ...."[2]

He insists that all "the tools and techniques of modern scholarship should be freely used."[3] Preachers are to be "honest exegetes, extracting from the text or passage what is obviously there, and not importing into it meanings that are not there."[4] Even for him, the Bible is not literally the very words of God.

The lecturers of this decade all seem to assume that the Bible is a human document and not a set of divine oracles. It was perhaps originated or inspired by the power of God, yet it still bears the marks of its human writers. One can say that the Bible was "written in an ancient Eastern idiom" and that "myth, legend, poetry have their place as well as history in the Word of God."[5] Another could argue that "it is always a difficult task to distinguish between the essential content of the Gospel and the words and ideas in which it is clothed."[6] Further, a

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[1] Menzies, Warrack, 1953, p. 130.

[2] Ibid., p. 129.

[3] Ibid., p. 153.

[4] Ibid., p. 136.

[5] Jarvis, Warrack, 1950, pp. 49-50.

[6] Read, Warrack, 1951, p. 50.

third can talk of the inability of modern people to comprehend the meaning of Biblical words.[1] Since the Bible was composed by human writers, its content is shaped and effected by the writer's historical period, his world-view, and other related factors. It is then the task of interpretation to help resolve some of these issues.

In helping to resolve some of these interpretative problems, the lecturers make various suggestions about how to do exegesis. For most of them, the goal of exegesis is to ascertain the original meaning which the writer meant to convey to his readers.[2] Wright states that one should "consider the reaction of those who first heard it and for whom it was spoken."[3] To accomplish this particular goal the lecturers do not specify a detailed exegetical procedure, but they do recommend certain aids.

One lecturer recommends working with the original texts in Greek and Hebrew in order to discover "shades of meaning not brought out in any translation."[4] Others encourage the use of reputable commentaries and modern translations and paraphrases of the Bible.[5]

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[1] Small, Warrack, 1959, pp. 60-61.

[2] Jarvis, Warrack, 1950, p. 15. See also David A. MacLennan, A Preacher's Primer (Toronto, Clarke, Irwin and Co., 1950), p. 85.

[3] Wright, Warrack, 1956, p. 28.

[4] Small, Warrack, 1959, p. 55.

[5] Jarvis, Warrack, 1950, p. 15; Read, Warrack, 1951, pp. 71 and 77; Small, Warrack, 1959, pp. 55-56. In another work, Read is more specific about what he recommends. He argues that before one can comprehend the content of Scripture, one must be informed regarding its "literary history" and subject one's evaluation to "the normal processes of criticism." He cites and describes the work of the philologist, the grammarian, the historian, the literary critic, and the source critic as all being needful in properly evaluating the content of Scripture. See D. H. C. Read, Prisoners' Quest: A Presentation of the Christian Faith in a Prisoners of War Camp (London, S. C. M. Press, 1944), pp. 50-57.

Through these means, the preacher can come closer to understanding the original meaning of the text within its context.

In the Biblical expositions offered by the lecturers, one can perceive other exegetical procedures being employed to aid in their understanding. Word studies are used to clarify religious concepts.[1] Various literary genres are examined and suggestions are given as to how one should comprehend their meaning.[2] For instance, in dealing with the healing narratives, Small advises that one should evaluate them "in light of modern medicine and psychiatric practice."[3] Again, Jarvis labels some of the early stories of the Old Testament as myth.[4] As one looks closely at these suggestions, one can see some technical exegetical methods in operation.

Looking at the sermons of these lecturers, one can again see further ways by which they seek to understand the meaning of Biblical subject matter. One frequently repeated means is to search out relevant historical background information. Take for instance one of Small's sermons.[5] It is about the call of Isaiah. Throughout the sermon, he draws on historical information to fill out his retelling of this Biblical narra-

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[1]Niles, Warrack, 1957-58, p. 68; and Small, Warrack, 1959, p. 55.

[2]Wright, Warrack, 1956, pp. 27-30; Niles, Warrack, 1957-58, pp. 67 and 73-77.

[3]Small, Warrack, 1959, p. 49.

[4]Jarvis, Warrack, 1950, p. 52.

[5]R. Leonard Small, "Challenged, Chosen, Commissioned," in his collection of sermons titled, No Other Name (Edinburgh, T. and T. Clark, 1966), pp. 102-110.

tive. Again, looking at one of Menzies' sermons, one can detect a similar method being employed to explain why the disciples hid themselves after Christ's death.[1] The use of historical information to help clarify the meaning of a passage appears to be a commonly practiced interpretative technique.

As regards their individual theological slants, it is not necessary for the purposes of this study to delineate their viewpoints in full. Taking just a quick overview, one soon realizes that they vary somewhat from one another. From Jarvis and Wright, who deal quite creatively and imaginatively with Scripture, to Menzies, who is quite conservative in his approach, these other lecturers of the 1950s represent a divergency of theological viewpoints. What would be helpful at this juncture would be to consider a few of their opinions regarding specific theological issues that help to shape their approaches to Scripture.

For Menzies, the resurgence of interest in evangelism caused by the work of Karl Barth is greeted positively. He writes:

> "For this revival of interest in Evangelism many reasons could be adduced. One unquestionably is the return to Biblical theology. Such persons as Karl Barth and Emil Brunner have through their theology given Evangelism an enormous impetus."[2]

In support of this concern for evangelism, Menzies is very critical of

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[1]Robert Menzies, "The Unavoidable Christ," in E. T., Vol. 66, August 1955, pp. 342-343.

[2]Menzies, Warrack, 1953, p. 1.

the tenets of theological liberalism, or "the Gospel of Humanism" as he calls it.[1] His focus in interpreting Biblical subject matter for preaching is on "the saving facts of God,"[2] and he further articulates these in his second lecture.[3] These "characteristic notes" of evangelism become for him a set of theological principles by which he approaches and interprets specific Biblical texts.[4]

One of the primary reasons for this viewpoint is Menzies' understanding of the nature of Scripture. For him, the Bible becomes a vehicle through which the word of God is revealed. Here again, he alludes to the work of Barth:

> '"In the event of revelation time falls away, and what happened in the there and then happens in the here and now.' And again, 'If our hearing of a sermon, or our reading of the Bible does not bring about a corresponding event in us, it is certain that in our hearing or reading we have not heard God's word. We have only heard human words.'"[5]

Through God's revealed word and the agency of the Holy Spirit, the words of Scripture become God's Word, and this is what a preacher is called upon to proclaim. With this view of Scripture supporting his understanding of the central tenets of God's saving act in Jesus Christ, Menzies' overall approach to Biblical interpretation is shaped.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 1-2.

[2] Ibid., p. 132.

[3] Ibid., pp. 14-31.

[4] Ample evidence for this contention can be found by comparing these "characteristic notes" of evangelism and his exposition of Scripture found in his published sermons. See Robert Menzies, The Magnet of the Heart (London, James Clarke and Co., 1936); and Robert Menzies, The Riches of His Grace (London, James Clarke and Co., 1956).

[5] Menzies, Warrack, 1953, pp. 148-149. Here Menzies is directly quoting Karl Barth.

Like Menzies, Read too expresses his appreciation for the work of Karl Barth.[1] He considers "the revival of Reformed theology" to be "one of the signs of hope in our era,"[2] yet he is unwilling to concur with the more extreme positions of Continental theology. He notes that "an unfortunate by-product of the theological revival of recent years is the growth of a totalitarian habit of mind which presents the Gospel in the form of a Diktat, and virtually ignores the condition of the hearers."[3] He labels this the "Continental heresy" and argues for a more moderate approach.[4] He believes that it is essential for a preacher to interpret Biblical subject matter, not in a terminology developed by specialists, but in a language that is understood by the people in the pews and that is relevant to the contemporary situation.

In another work written by Read, one can sense the background of the controversies created by the advent of Barthian theology.[5] For

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[1]In a private taped interview on 16 September 1983, Small also noted being highly affected by the theology of Karl Barth, but less directly through the teachings of Emil Brunner. In 1931, Small was the recipient of the Senior Cunningham Fellowship from New College and used it to study under Emil Brunner at the University of Zurich. He remarked that Brunner "impressed me certainly more than any of the other teachers I have been with ...." Small considered him to be the number one influence upon the development of his theology. He also got to know Brunner personally as he helped him to translate into English his upcoming lectures in Britain.

[2]Read, Warrack, 1951, p. 20.

[3]Ibid., p. 18.

[4]Ibid., pp. 18-21.

[5]Read, Prisoners' Quest, 1944. These talks on religious subjects, given while Read was a prisoner-of-war, read very much like simplified versions of lectures he must have heard while attending University. Read graduated from the University of Edinburgh (M.A., 1932) and New College (B.D., 1936). He also would have been the youngest lecturer of the decade.

instance, he discusses both humanism and the Christian doctrine of man.[1] In his chapter on humanism, Read is quite critical of its effects on Christianity. He notes:

> "The idea of evolution became an obsession. The Bible ceased to be in any sense a Word of God, and was regarded simply as a record of the ascent of Man. Progress was the slogan."[2]

Read views these effects of humanist doctrine as a perversion of the truth. Although he would retain a couple of its gains, its disregard for our sin and man's bias toward evil render it a "heresy."[3] For Read, the basic tenets of humanism, so important for liberal theology, and the idea that the Kingdom of God would be achieved by the progressive efforts of humankind would not become a hermeneutic by which he interpreted Biblical subject matter.

Wright also appears to share a similar opinion as regards the detrimental influence of humanism.[4] He writes:

> "We have to be on guard lest it (the temptation of this inborn optimism, this confidence in human capacity) dilutes and perverts our preaching of the gospel, and leads us to make sermons - to use Niebuhr's figure - whose ingredients are non-Christian but have a thin coating of Christian icing."[5]

In order to illustrate this contention, Wright offers the right and

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[1] Ibid., pp. 104-131. See also Menzies, Warrack, 1953, p. 146. He, too, notes the importance of considering the doctrine of Man "because almost all modern heresies gather round this point."

[2] Ibid., p. 109.

[3] Ibid., pp. 111-112.

[4] Wright, Warrack, 1956, pp. 25-31.

[5] Ibid., p. 27.

wrong way to understand the meaning of three different parables. For each, he demonstrates how they are erroneously interpreted in a humanistic fashion as mere moralisms, and then proceeds to show how they are properly understood evangelistically. The guiding theological principle in his interpretation is the incompetence of man and the omnicompetence of God. Man is powerless to save himself or to earn his salvation. The strength and resources to meet the demands of the gospel come from God alone.

Besides these influences of Continental theology, MacLennan notes the importance of the apostolic kerygma in providing "a solid core" for preaching.[1] He writes that:

> "In recent years, Biblical theologians beginning with C. H. Dodd have reminded us of this core, this kerygma, in apostolic preaching. It consists of the themes preached by the first Christian messengers, and represents the outline of the Early Church's message."[2]

For MacLennan, this kerygma provides "dogmas" which "are indeed the gospel truth" and "an epitome of the gospel."[3] Since preachers are entrusted with the gospel, this kerygma offers up the major themes for preaching and a nexus by which to understand the meaning of particular texts.[4]

Since MacLennan felt so strongly about the import of the apostolic kerygma, he could not concur with the more radical results of demythologizing. He writes:

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[1] MacLennan, Warrack, 1955, p. 46.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., p. 47.

[4] Ibid., pp. 44-51. In the interview with Small, he also noted the importance of the kerygma for preaching, but he felt it need not be specifically mentioned in every sermon.

> "What does this core of the early Church's message say to us? ... To others the Scriptural statement expresses hopelessly out-dated thought-forms of a naive first and second century Christians, concepts entangled with an obsolete cosmology urgently needing to be demythologized. Yet to the Christian whose saving encounter with the living God is mediated by Biblical revelation, the affirmations of the early preaching provide an epitome of the gospel."[1]

For MacLennan, the apostolic kerygma is the very core of the Bible's message and should be the foundation for all preaching.

Turning now to consider the more personal and subjective aspects of interpretation, one discovers a rather limited amount of information in comparison with that found in the lectures of the 1940s. The truth through personality concept is nowhere directly stated. The devotional use of Scripture as a way to discern its meaning is only mentioned by one lecturer.[2] The importance of religious experience for understanding Biblical subject matter is played down. Even so, there are some subjective aspects which are discussed, but the lecturers' treatment of these remains brief.

The most frequently repeated subjective aspect is that pertaining to the power of the Holy Spirit to reveal the true meaning of Biblical subject matter.[3] Read states the case in the following manner:

> "How is it that we can hear the Word of God Himself through the words of an apostle or prophet written in a context and idiom foreign to our own? ... The only answer to these questions is - the action of the Holy Spirit."[4]

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[1] Ibid., p. 47.

[2] Jarvis, Warrack, 1950, p. 29.

[3] Jarvis, Warrack, 1950, p. 29; and Menzies, Warrack, 1953, p. 148.

[4] Read Warrack, 1951, pp. 75-76.

Even so, he remains cautious. He warns that one must do the proper preparatory work, which includes understanding the text within its context, before one can rightly rely upon the Spirit's power.[1] The promise of the Spirit's guidance is not an excuse for improper preparation. This caution is shared by the other lecturers who had this conviction.

Other subjective aspects are mentioned by only one lecturer and appear to be fading during this decade. One such aspect is that of a more than literal exegesis of the text. Jarvis speaks of taking "texts which have no spiritual significance in themselves, and find that they illustrate the Gospel in a most effective way."[2] He uses as his example the four anchors of Acts 27:29. He then proceeds to say that he does not "hold with spiritualizing Scripture which, on the face of it, has no spiritual reference: the analogy must be very obvious".[3] What Jarvis is trying to say in this qualification of the allegorical method of interpretation is unclear, but he is the only lecturer of the 1950s to support outright a more than literal exegesis of a text.

A second such aspect is the importance of personal experience in comprehending the meaning of Biblical subject matter. Menzies contends that preachers "must then have the supporting evidence not only of the text of Scripture but within ourselves."[4] Even so, he qualifies this by saying:

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[1]Ibid., p. 77.

[2]Jarvis, Warrack, 1950, p. 21.

[3]Ibid., p. 22.

[4]Menzies, Warrack, 1953, p. 29.

> "Preaching is more than just personal witness. It is a proclamation of revealed truth that may outpass our own experience. Biblical truth in its far-reaching range is a much richer thing than our experience conveys."[1]

For him, personal experience has a limited but significant role to play in understanding a given text or doctrine. Even this limited role is not shared by these other lecturers of the 1950s.[2]

At this point, it may be interesting to speculate as to why these more subjective aspects of interpretation are treated in such a limited fashion. Read gives us part of the answer when he speaks of "how the mind of the observer is inextricably involved in the process of investigation, and how his presuppositions, environment, and general Weltanschaung, are important factors in the operations of even the physical scientist."[3] He goes on to criticize how the Church is so caught up in the ways of culture.[4] It is clear in his analysis that the subjective aspects have come under suspicion because they too easily become vehicles for the presuppositions and prejudices of one's era. Although this is only one reason, it is evident that the more personal and subjective aspects of interpretation receive a great deal less attention than they did in the Lectureships of the 1940s.

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[1] Ibid., p. 28.

[2] Small does speak of personal experience, not for understanding a text, but as a source of illustrations. See Small, Warrack, 1951, p. 48.

[3] Read, Warrack, 1951, p. 48.

[4] Ibid., pp. 50-53.

Summation

When comparing the information about Biblical interpretation found in the Lectureships of the 1950s with that found in the 1940s, one can make several observations. First, the lecturers of the 1950s give more attention and content to the task of interpreting Biblical subject matter for preaching. Information about it is discovered in eight of the nine Lectureships of this decade. Examplifying this, Craig devotes his entire Lectureship to a discussion of Biblical Criticism, and Cowan devotes two lectures to the expository preaching of the Old and New Testaments. Second, the information provided by the lecturers of the 1950s is more detailed than that found in the 1940s. For instance, in the Lectureships of the 1950s, certain interpretative problems were considered, such as how to discern the meaning of Biblical subject matter found within specific literary genres, and examples were offered. As an overall generalization, one can say that the lecturers of the 1950s were more concerned with the task of Biblical interpretation than were their predecessors of the 1940s.

Also by way of comparison, one can perceive a continuance of trends identified even within the Lectureships of the 1940s. The developmental direction toward a greater valuation of the more objective aspects is made even clearer when the lectures of the 1950s are compared with those of the 1940s. This can be seen by the growing insistence upon the usage of technical and scholarly methods of exegesis. In the 1950s textual, source, historical, literary, and form critical methodologies are discussed and recommended in a way that is not found in any of the lectures of the 1940s. Moreover, in the 1950s certain interpretative dilemmas

such as how to deal with healing and miracle stories, apocalyptic literature, and parables, are discussed in a depth nowhere equaled in the Lectureships of the 1940s. From MacGregor, through Stewart and the others and McIntyre, to a lecturer like Craig, one clearly perceives a trend toward the greater valuation of the more objective and scholarly aspects of Biblical interpretation.

Inversely, this trend can also be confirmed by the lessening of emphasis placed upon the more subjective aspects. In the 1950s, the importance ascribed to personal religious experience and to the preacher's devotional life for apprehending the meaning of Biblical subject matter diminishes in comparison with that given them in the 1940s. In fact, Craig is somewhat skeptical of religious experience, while others note its limitations. Moreover, the "truth through personality" concept of preaching as espoused by MacGregor is nowhere to be found in the lectures of the 1950s. Even though the allegorical interpretation of Scripture is encouraged by one lecturer in this decade, it is not mentioned by any of the others. Furthermore, the revelatory capacity of Scripture and the power of the Holy Spirit to reveal the Word of God are forthrightly upheld in the 1950s, but the insistence to do proper preparatory work first is consistently repeated in a way that it was not in the 1940s. Each in its own way characterizes the lessening of emphasis placed upon the more personal and subjective aspects of interpretation and lends support for the contention that a trend exists toward the greater valuation of the more objective and scholarly aspects.

Now, the reasons for this trend may vary from lecturer to lecturer, but in the 1950s the major unifying element is the need for a more modern approach to the Bible. The assumption that everything written in the Bible is literally and inerrantly true as recorded has had to be dismissed in light of modern science and knowledge. New ways of understanding the nature of Scripture are being demanded. Because of this demand, most of the lecturers take the time to articulate their understanding of the Bible's nature. Here again, they vary in their descriptions, but the unifying contention is that the Bible bears the marks of its human authors. Since the Bible retains these marks yet also contains the Word of God, it then becomes the task of the preacher to interpret the Scriptures so that this Word can be discovered and proclaimed.

Because this hermeneutical task and the problems it presents have become so important for the preacher, most of the lecturers of this decade make recommendations as to how to proceed. Initially, the goal is to discover the meaning of a text within its context. Although none of the lecturers prescribe a specific overall interpretative method, they do make various suggestions. Small encourages working with the texts in their original languages. Others recommend the use of reputable commentaries and modern translations of the Bible. Craig suggests the use of contemporary methods of Biblical Criticism to bridge the gap between the Scriptures and modern people. Although, as a whole, the lecturers are quite trusting of the historical reliability of the New Testament, they do practice limited forms of demythologizing, yet none is willing to go as far as Rudolf Bultmann. In fact, the lecturers are very critical of his radical historical skepticism. The recommendations

as to how to proceed are many and vary from lecturer to lecturer, but it is evident that the importance of this hermeneutical task is a source of great concern for the lecturers of this decade.

Theologically, too, the trends identified even within the Lectureships of the 1940s are further confirmed in the lectures of the 1950s. For example, Liberal Theology comes under more intensive criticism in the 1950s than it did in the previous decade. Although some of the lecturers attempt to protect its gains, they continue to isolate and criticize its weak points. No doubt this was due in part to the growing appreciation for the work of Karl Barth and Emil Brunner whose theological viewpoints are alluded to in seven out of the nine Lectureships of this decade. This is not to say that the lecturers gave wholehearted support to their perspectives. They, like the lecturers of the 1940s, remain critical of the extremes of Barthian theology; but, in comparison, the lecturers of the 1950s were more influenced by it and by the agenda it was setting for contemporary theological thought. It will be interesting to see whether or not these trends continue within the Lectureships of the 1960s and 1970s.

Chapter Three

Developments in Biblical Interpretation Within the Warrack Lectureships from 1960 to 1975

The purpose of this third chapter is essentially the same as the first two. It will be to report and substantiate certain developments in the interpretation of the Bible for preaching found within the Warrack Lectureships from 1960 to 1975. As before, this will be accomplished by examining the various lecturers' recommendations regarding the interpretation of Biblical subject matter and, if necessary, their particular methods of interpretation. These will then be compared and contrasted to the preceding Lectureships to see if they show change and point in some developmental direction. A few general introductory remarks and then we shall begin.

In this later period from 1960 to 1975, Biblical interpretation receives even more attention than it did in the 1950s. Information about it is discovered in six out of the seven Lectureships of this later period. Essentially, both Cleland and Pitt-Watson devote their entire Lectureships to a study of interpretative method. Keir discusses Biblical interpretation in three out of his five lectures. The others may not consider it as fully, but they are aware of the problems facing the modern interpreter of Scripture, and they do make some recommendations as to how to resolve them. In this later period, the concern about Biblical interpretation for preaching is even greater than it was in the 1950s.

Moreover, the information about Biblical interpretation found in these later lectures is even more detailed. Both Cleland and Pitt-Watson

carefully outline specific, overall interpretative methods. Keir gives enough information in his lectures to make a reasonable view of his particular method. As a group, the lecturers not only discuss specific hermeneutical dilemmas but also give recommendations and examples of how to resolve them. By way of comparison, the lecturers of this period go into greater detail about Biblical interpretation than did those of either the 1940s or 1950s.

Lastly, with the exception of MacKenzie, the other lecturers of this period insist upon the usage of scholarly and objective exegetical methods. Keir demands that the preacher employ the best of scholarship to confirm or deny his/her insights into the original meaning of the text. Cleland spends an entire lecture condemning the homiletical sin of eisegesis and explaining how to do exegesis properly. Pitt-Watson places a series of limitations upon the usage of the more subjective aspects of interpretation. Strong emphases placed upon the preacher's religious experience and devotional life as ways by which to comprehend the meaning of Biblical subject matter all but disappear during this period. Although these lecturers do ascribe a limited but significant role to these more subjective aspects, the categories change and so does their placement within the overall interpretative process. In comparison, the lecturers of this later period attribute even more importance to these more objective aspects than did their predecessors in either the 1940s or 1950s.

Thomas Henry Keir

The initial Lectureship to be dealt with in this chapter is that of Thomas H. Keir. Within his lectures, Keir has much to say about Biblical interpretation for preaching. Although he does not outline a detailed step by step interpretative method, he does make enough recommendations and offers enough examples so that a reasonable assessment of his overall interpretative method can be made. Since Keir is the first lecturer of this period chronologically, and since he gives much attention to Biblical interpretation, it makes his Lectureship a natural starting point.

In his third lecture, Keir puts forward a view of the Bible based upon a dynamic doctrine of the Word of God. For him, the Bible is a locus for an encounter with the living God. As he writes:

> "The Bible, the book of divine encounter, is par excellence the book of pictures and conversations. It describes God's age-long dialogue with men and provokes them to participate in the dialogue still."[1]

It is through the words of Scripture that the Word of God can be heard.

Because the Bible is a locus for an encounter with the living God, it is more than mere words indicating meaning. As Keir argues:

> "The Bible is the book of a Voice, not merely of a message. It begins with the Voice in the Garden and ends with 'the Spirit and the Bride' saying 'Come!' This "Word of God is something more than a speech-symbol indicating meaning. It is a creative Word which effects something. Men hear it, and whether they accept it or reject it, they are never the same again."[2]

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[1] Keir, Warrack, 1960, p. 63.

[2] Ibid., p. 9. In addition, Keir also employs this personal and dynamic concept of the Word to define the nature of preaching. "The Word of God is not simply the Bible or the sermon regarded as a written or spoken account of God's will for past ages or even for our day. The 'Word of God is personal. It is whatever God may say to men through the Bible and sermon .... The Word of the preacher is no more than the locus of encounter. The sermon is the thing outwardly spoken; the Word of God is the thing inwardly heard." See Ibid., p. 6.

If this is so, then what is "the language of primary encounter?"[1]

In answer to this question, Keir believes that the language of this encounter is the image.[2] He stipulates that in order to speak of God after an encounter with Him is to speak in terms of images which in essence serve to express the inexpressible.[3] He concludes:

> "The language of faith, then, is the image. This fact is of first-class importance for the preacher, both as to his interpretations of the Bible and his preaching technique. When he speaks of God and tries to describe God's ways of dealing with men, he speaks in images, analogies, parables, metaphors, paradigms, both Biblical and extra-Biblical, Metaphor is in fact the sacrament of the imagination."[4]

Although abstract language may be used to evaluate an encounter with God, it is not "the natural language of the encounter itself."[5] According to his view, the "mental precipitate of God's dealings with men is always an image."[6]

Since this is so, it follows that the Bible itself is filled with images or examples of picture-thinking.[7] He writes:

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[1]Ibid., p. 63.

[2]Ibid., pp. 63-66.

[3]Ibid., pp. 63-64. Keir does admit that this encounter with God may involve "a word of command to do something and to be something." Therefore, the "precipitate of the encounter is an action." He leaves this without further elucidation.

[4]Ibid., pp. 64-65.

[5]Ibid., p. 64.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Ibid.

> "There can be no understanding of this Book except by recognizing that its language is, ..., a language of the imagination - that of images - even when it is a quite concrete past instance of God's dealings which has become to the eye of faith a prefiguration of a later encounter."[1]

According to his viewpoint, the "imagination is the realm where speechless man meets unspeakable God and visualizes the encounter in images."[2] This is the reason why the New and Old Testaments alike are filled with the type, the parable, the metaphor, and other forms of pictographic expression.[3]

The question is now; if the Bible is so composed, then how does one discover the meaning of a particular passage? From Keir's point of view, a preacher must accomplish two tasks.[4] The first is to enter into the images or imagination of the Scriptures. The second is to make use of one's own imagination. By accomplishing these two tasks, he believes that the preacher is enabled to better comprehend the meaning of a particular passage.

In order to enter into the imagination of the Bible, scholarship is essential. Since the New Testament employs a "constellation of images" derived from the Old Testament to express the nature of the New Covenant,[5]

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[1] Ibid., p. 66. Keir cites as an example of an actual historical event which has become an image - the crossing of the Jordan into the promised land. Here, he states that this has become "an image that has played a long and very potent role in theology and in popular devotion."

[2] Ibid., p. 67.

[3] Ibid., p. 64.

[4] Ibid., p. 69.

[5] Ibid, pp. 69-70.

it becomes the task of scholarship to enable preachers to understand these images. Because of scholarship, a preacher should be able, "in some degree, to enter into the mind of a first-century convert whose ways of religious thinking are being moulded by the Gospel but whose forms of thought are derived from the Old Testament."[1] Herein lies the goal of this first task. A preacher is to discover what the author intended to say to those early Christians.[2] To do this, scholarship is essential, but it is not enough. "To the Bible's imagination must be added the preacher's."[3]

Keir believes the reason for this is quite plain. Since Biblical scholarship has yet to devise "a generally accepted apparatus for interpreting the Scriptures, making it possible for the reader to see the unity of the Bible, the coherence and congruity of the imaginative structure," and since disagreement persists "as to which parts of the Bible are imaginative - theology in pictures, including historical events that are used as pictures pointing beyond the actual event itself - and which parts are more or less uncomplicated narrative, in no sense heightened, in no sense figurative or prefigurative," therefore the preacher must then engage his own creative and critical faculties in making these discernments.[4] As long as the debate of scholars is incon-

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[1]Ibid., p. 70.

[2]Ibid., p. 69.

[3]Ibid., p. 70.

[4]Ibid., p. 68.

clusive, the preacher "must enter into the Bible's imagination and he must use his own."[1]

As he continues through his third lecture, Keir suggests that preachers make use of their creative imaginations in several distinctive ways. First, he recommends that they approach the texts initially using only their imaginations before consulting the available evidences of scholarship to affirm or deny their insights.[2] Second, he notes that some Biblical images are no longer comprehensible to contemporary people. These images have become "dead" or "maimed."[3] To recover these images, preachers must employ their imaginations to re-interpret and remint afresh the Biblical images by modern images drawn from contemporary life and experience.[4] Third, the imagination is the realm in which preachers ascertain what God is saying through a particular passage to our generation.[5] Each of these uses of imagination, Keir believes, is of critical importance in proclaiming the Word of God.

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[1]Ibid., p. 69.

[2]Ibid., p. 70. Keir ascribes to scholarship a clear and critically important role in the preacher's task as an interpreter of Scripture. Scholars are to provide a preacher with the meaning of a Biblical passage within its historical context. Their insights are used to verify or reject a preacher's insights. Scholars, at this point, are given precedence, surely. In this way, scholarship safeguards the church from all that is not of Christ. See also Ibid., p. 90 and p. 128.

[3]Ibid., p. 77.

[4]Ibid., p. 80.

[5]Ibid., p. 72.

According to his belief, the "poverty of the preacher's imagination spells the death of preaching."[1]

Even so, Keir prescribes certain limits upon the usage of imagination. He notes that "New Testament scholarship has reacted rightly against Origenistic forms of allegorizing," and "equally understandable is the reaction against extremes of typological method."[2] These reactions are correct, but Keir argues that they should not become perverse. There are certain parts of Scripture which can only be rightly understood by the use of these interpretative methods.[3]

In summarizing his approach to interpreting a passage from the Gospels, Keir writes:

> "But if, first, the preacher's task is to understand what the evangelist intended to say - what God was saying through the evangelist to that early generation of Christians - thus entering into the Biblical imagination, the preacher's task is, secondly, to try to understand what God is saying through a particular passage of Scripture to this generation of ours; in other words, the preacher's imagination is the place where the eternal Word in the earlier historic Word becomes the contemporary Word."[4]

Although he does not describe in detail a specific interpretative method which would fulfill these tasks, he does offer some examples and suggestions.

Attempting to understand the meaning of "the two white figures at the tomb on the morning of the resurrection,"[5] he is sure that these

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., p. 68.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid., p. 72.

[5] Ibid., p. 71.

possess dogmatic significance and that they are not simply biographical. Here, he believes it is the job of scholars to inform preachers about their meaning. One interpretation which he is attracted towards is that these two figures are related to other sets of two figures, i.e. at the Mount of Transfiguration or at the Ascension. He does not give a specific interpretation, but he does note that these two witnesses would have been important in the eyes of the Jews and proselytes. Of one thing he is certain "that at such a place as this in the narrative we are in the realm of Christology as well as, in some sort, of biography."[1]

In his analysis of the story of Martha and Mary (Luke 10:38-42), he disagrees with those who hold this to be a picture of the "antithesis between 'the material' and 'the spiritual.'"[2] Instead, he attempts to understand it in the light of "a Gentile woman convert in some congregation built on the solid foundation of St. Paul's missionary preaching."[3] He believes that this person would view the older sister as typical of the Jews who are "cumbered about much serving."[4] The younger sister would be understood as typical of herself and others like her who are newly come to Kingdom and who are willing to sit at Jesus' feet trusting in his message. Going futher, he believes that "this form of image, of the older and the younger, of obedience as the old Israel understood it and as the new Israel knew it, runs through the parables of Jesus."[5]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., p. 73.

[3] Ibid., p. 74.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid.

As regards the interpretation of Jesus' parables, Keir has some specific recommendations. He writes:

> "In some ways the parables of Jesus will constantly provoke the preacher to see in them meanings and suggestions beyond the evangelist's first intention. And why not? As Professor C. H. Dodd has said: 'By all means draw from the parable any 'lesson' they may suggest, provided it is not incongruous with what we may learn of their original intention. We shall not easily exhaust their meaning. But the Gospels do not offer us in the first place tales to point a moral. They interpret life to us, by initiating us into a situation in which, as Christians believe, the eternal was uniquely manifested in time....'"[1]

According to Keir, the preacher's task is to enter into the imagination of the Bible and then to make use of his/her own.

By reflecting upon these examples and recommendations, one perceives a pattern beginning to emerge.[2] It would be as follows:

1. Approach the text realizing that the language of encounter is the image.

2. Approach the text realizing that the images used in the New Testament are derived from the constellation of images found in the Old Testament.

3. Begin by using one's own imagination to discover the meaning of the text.

4. Then employ the best of scholarship to facilitate understanding what the original author meant to convey to those early Christians or, perhaps, what God was saying through the Author.

5. Then employ one's imagination to attempt to comprehend what God is trying to say through the text to this generation of ours.

In all of this, he warns the preacher to make it quite clear "when he is genuinely interpreting the evangelist's thought with scholarly integrity

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[1] Ibid., p. 57. This quote is taken from C. H. Dodd, The Parables of the Kingdom (London, Nisbet and Co., 1935), p. vi.

[2] To further confirm this pattern, a look at some of the other expositions he offers is quite helpful. See Ibid., pp. 28, 75, 78, and 89-90.

and when (and this is also legitimate) he is using a passage (a fragment of a story, for instance) to illustrate a truth by analogy."[1]

As regards Keir's theological slant, it is difficult from his lectures alone to make a good assessment of his overall position. He notes in the Preface to his printed lectures that it would be inappropriate "to represent any particular school of theology or Biblical interpretation."[2] His approach is to attempt to assume that which is "of fairly general agreement among Biblical scholars."[3] Since it is not necessary for the purposes of this study to outline his position in full, it will suffice to record his responses to certain issues.

In response to the tenets of humanism, Keir is consistently critical. He writes:

> "Theological facts are the Bible's all-encompassing theme.... The rediscovery of this has involved the Biblical expositor in our day with what is virtually, for him, a new task, since the humanist surrogate for revealed religion - ethical idealism - has long and deeply conditioned the thinking of religious people."[4]

He later adds that "God's Fatherhood and man's brotherhood" are not generalized conceptions in the New Testament and are, more or less, a form of sentimentality made as a substitute for true theological understanding.[5]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 75-76.

[2] Ibid., p. vi.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid., p. 46.

[5] Ibid., p. 52.

Keir concludes that "a now threadbare humanism ... was bound to wear thin because it had no solid doctrinal base."[1]

To counter these weaknesses caused by the influence of humanism and other idiosyncracies, Keir insists that preaching be theologically controlled.[2] As he writes: "Preaching, however, is only likely to remain uncorrupt, delivered from idiosyncracy, when it is controlled by a doctrine of the Church."[3] This can be best accomplished by adhering to the systematic format of the Christian year, wherein "the Biblical revelation is set forth in its full range and its consecutive order."[4] Assuming that Biblical interpretation and theological understanding are closely connected,[5] Keir maintains "that the preacher's office is to preach theologically."[6]

One of the reasons for this, he believes, is that "the New Testament is written in a highly technical language of Christological images."[7]

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[1]Ibid., p. 55. Throughout the remainder of his lectures, Keir also criticizes other aspects of humanism, i.e., "tranquillizer religion" (p. 42), Jesus as a teacher of simplistic morality (p. 43), humane idealism (p. 46), "sentimental optimism" (p. 110). It appears as if Keir is not distinguishing humanism from Liberal Theology, but, in fact, is lumping them together into one composite group as he does in lecture four (p. 112). Regardless, he is consistently critical of these various tenets.

[2]Ibid., pp. 42-48.

[3]Ibid., p. 122.

[4]Ibid., p. 59.

[5]Ibid., p. 24.

[6]Ibid., p. 48.

[7]Ibid., p. 77.

To understand the New Testament aright, the preacher must be able to enter into the thought forms and the intentions of the ancient authors, and this is especially true when dealing with the Gospels. As he writes:

> "Put differently, the sensitive reader, inevitably conscious of the solid historical framework (of the Gospels), is nonetheless haunted by the sense that the historic facts are made, so to speak, to wear a halo, as the figures in a Renaissance painting do, and this in the interest of Christological proclamation."[1]

To truly discern the meaning of certain parts of Scripture, the preacher must enter into the theological presuppositions and intentions of the author.

Using this particular hermeneutic, Keir can argue that the story of Zacharias, when as a serving priest he is struck dumb, is not pure history but of Christological significance. As he notes:

> "Certain commentators assert that the evangelist is using an historic form of structure to draw out the significance of John the Baptist: that the dumbness of the priestly Zacharias stands for the decay of the prophetic spirit in Israel, a prophetic dumbness that was ended only by the emergence of John the Baptist, the preparer of the way for the One to Come...."[2]

"Such interpretation does not of course mean that the narrative is unhistorical; it means that it is dealing with a different history than the modern reader would at first suspect, but one that is essential to the economy of the Gospel - in fact with two solid historic facts, the decline of prophecy and its rebirth as a prelude to God's mighty acts in

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[1] Ibid., p. 71.

[2] Ibid., p. 89.

Jesus Christ."[1] This, Keir asserts, is one possible way of understanding the significance which the evangelist intended his readers to find within the narrative.

Again, because of this particular view of the nature of Biblical narrative, especially as it regards the Gospels, Keir can encourage the modest use of typology. As he states:

> "The moderate typologist finds in the Gospels the story of our Lord's life told in terms of the story of the Old Testament or people of God of the Old Testament; or alternatively he sees in the Gospel story of our Lord, choosing twelve disciples, for instance, in conscious anti-type to the original twelve tribes - all this with a view to drawing out a Christological significance, namely, that in Jesus Christ there has come into being the New Israel of the New Covenant."[2]

This modest use of typology can be seen in several of the examples he offers such as the interpretation he gives to the story of Martha and Mary and the meaning he ascribes to the Parable of the Laborers in the Vineyard.[3]

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[1]Ibid., p. 90. Keir does say that this interpretation of the narrative may or may not be correct. It is the task of scholars to tell preachers what it truly means, but compared with other examples of this sort of interpretation, it appears to be much in keeping with them. See Ibid., pp. 71-72, 73-75, 76-77, and 78.

[2]Ibid., pp. 68-69.

[3]See Ibid., pp. 73-74 and 77-78 respectively.

Since Keir holds this particular view of the nature of Scripture, it appears as if he is using specific tenets of Biblical theology to help comprehend the meaning of certain texts and passages, especially the narrative in the Gospels. Assuming the unity of Biblical revelation and perceiving the overall sweep of theological themes and Biblical doctrine, one can then employ these insights to discern the meaning of a particular text or passage. Christology, that is, the nature and purpose of Christ, is used to interpret otherwise difficult passages such as the story of Zacharias. Theological themes, such as the nature of the Old Covenant and the New and the Old Israel and the New, are employed to ascertain the intention given to a passage or a parable by its original author. In this way, Keir permits certain theological constructs to interpret the meaning and intention of a particular text or passage, but understanding the text within its context is not enough for preaching.

The reason for this, Keir posits, is quite clear. The comprehension of the meaning of a text within its context is expressed in the mode of abstract language, that is, from an objective and reflective frame of reference. As he notes:

> "Preachers are constantly being warned against preaching abstract sermons, and the instinct behind the warning is a sound one. Abstract description by its very nature destroys the sense of concrete reality."[1]

Even though preachers must remain faithful throughout to the original meaning and intention of the author, it must be translated into a

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[1]Ibid., p. 86.

mode of expression that provides this sense of "concrete reality," so that the sermon might become a locus for an encounter with the living God.

The differentiation between these modes of expression is akin to the difference between a theological essay and a sermon. As he records:

> "What is it that marks the difference ... between a good theological essay and a good sermon? ... We all know the answer. It is that a good theological essay is a helpful arrangement and criticism of ideas with a view to better understanding of some objective truth, while a sermon, though it ought to be built on this, is something more, something different. It is a going into action."[1]

Unlike a theological essay, a sermon needs to employ a mode of expression that permits the occasion of an encounter with God.

Say, for instance, that one was dealing with the concept of the knowledge of God from a Biblical point of view. As Keir records, "in the Bible the 'knowledge of God' does not signify belief in the form of accepting propositions or making a catalogue of the divine attributes; it implies some kind of personal relationship such as is implied in Bultmann's saying that 'to believe means not to have apprehended but to have been apprehended.'"[2] This is the mode of expression of the Bible and should be characteristic of preaching.[3]

The reason for the usage of this particular mode of expression is derived directly from Keir's understanding of the nature of preaching

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[1]Ibid., p. 119.

[2]Ibid., p. 131. This quote is taken from H. W. Bartsch, Kergyma and Myth: A Theological Debate (London, S.P.C.K., 1953), Vol. I, p. 21.

[3]Ibid., pp. 134-135.

itself. As he argues:

> "Preaching has been described as a 'manifestation of the Incarnate Word, from the written Word, by the spoken Word,' but it is even more than this. It is the occasion of encounter. It is a man speaking in such a way and under such a direction that the God Who is eternal may be heard to utter His solving and saving Word in the situation that is contemporary (and this 'Word' is not to be understood as an intellectual symbol but as a personal action)."[1]

The mode of expression of preaching should be commensurate with the nature of preaching itself and, that is, "a personal action and that action God's."[2]

Within his Biblical interpretative method, one perceives a willingness on Keir's part to permit a limited role for the more personal and subjective aspects of interpretation. First, he encourages his listeners to engage their imaginations, that is, their creative faculties, while initially attempting to discover the meaning of the text. He suggests that they imagine themselves as "a Gentile woman convert" before trying to comprehend the meaning of the Martha and Mary story. This asks them to understand both the objective historical situation which lies behind the text and the subjective feelings of those who first heard it. Second, he encourages his listeners to employ their imaginations while translating the meaning of the text into a mode of expression which can then become an occasion of encounter. By the usage of a preacher's creative faculties, the dead or maimed images of Scripture can become reminted in the currency of contemporary life and experience.

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[1]Ibid., p. 121.

[2]Ibid.

Even though he encourages the use of these subjective aspects, he places limitations which create parameters for their usage. He insists that a sermon must remain faithful throughout to the original intended meaning of the author. Allegory and typology are to be employed if and only if they were part of that original meaning. Biblical theology and doctrine are to be used as safeguards against corruptions and idiosyncracies in interpretation. The findings of Biblical and theological scholarship are to be employed to verify or deny the creative insights of the preacher's imagination. Nonetheless, within these parameters, a preacher must use his/her creative faculties to faithfully translate Biblical images and thought forms into modern ones, so that the sermon might become a locus for an encounter with the living God.

As regards the other subjective aspects of interpretation, Keir has little to say. He does note the role of the Holy Spirit, not in the sense of revealing the meaning of Scripture, but as an inner witness to confirm "that what the preacher is proclaiming from the Bible is the eternal truth of God and his contemporary Word."[1] Moreover, in his final lecture, Keir briefly touches upon the personality of the preacher, but he does not refer to it as a means through which to apprehend the truth of Scripture. Actually, he is somewhat skeptical of the role of personality within preaching in general.[2] In his view, neither the preacher's personality[3] nor his/her personal virtues[4] primarily determine the

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[1]Ibid., p. 8. See also, Ibid., p. 121.

[2]Ibid., p. 120-121. Also, note his footnote number 2 on these pages.

[3]Ibid., p. 120.

[4]Ibid., p. 127.

effectiveness of preaching. Unlike some of the lecturers of the 1940s, Keir does not mention the role of the preacher's devotional life or personal religious experience as vehicles through which to ascertain the true meaning of Biblical subject matter. All in all, Keir gives little content to these other subjective aspects of interpretation.

In summary, Keir derives both his understanding of the nature of Scripture and preaching from a dynamic concept of the Word of God. Both the Bible and the sermon are a locus for an encounter with the living God, and the language of this encounter is the image. In order to comprehend these images aright, the preacher must enter into the imagination of Scripture and employ his/her own.

To enter into the imagination of Scripture, scholarship is essential. It is the role of scholars to tell preachers what the text meant within its original context. Though a sermon must remain faithful throughout to this original intended meaning, a preacher must use his/her creative faculties to translate the Biblical images into the images of contemporary life and experience and into a mode of expression that enables the sermon to become an occasion of encounter.

In order to prevent corruption and idiosyncracies within this process of translation, preaching must be theologically controlled. Biblical theology, that is, Biblical doctrine as derived from the sweep of the Christian year, is essential to provide a firm basis for interpretation. Throughout his lectures, Keir is consistently critical of humanism and Liberal Theology for just this reason. Neither of them possess a firm Biblical theological foundation.

Moreover, there is another reason for the use of Biblical theology. Keir posits that the New Testament is written in a highly technical language

of Christological images. Many of these are derived from the Old Testament. Once again, he insists that the Gospels have a solid historical framework, but they are not pure history in the modern sense. Because of the nature of the New Testament, a preacher needs to employ Biblical theology to accurately apprehend the meaning of a particular text.

This hermeneutical process of translation is incomplete until the preacher transforms the abstract language of analysis into a mode of expression that enables the occasion of encounter. As he argues, a sermon is not a theological essay but a going into action, and that action is God's. For instance, a sermon should not be so much a discussion about the doctrine of justification but an experience of the gracious act of God.[1]

Within this interpretative method, Keir permits a limited role for the more subjective and personal aspects. Although he sets definite parameters to the usage of the preacher's imagination, these creative faculties are essential for the effective translation of the Biblical images into modern ones. As to the other subjective aspects so prominent in the Lectureships of the 1940s, he has little to say.

James T. Cleland

The second Lectureship to be examined in this chapter is that of James T. Cleland. Although he is not the next lecturer chronologically, he does provide the most explicit information about Biblical interpretation for preaching found within any of the Lectureships of this period.

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[1]Ibid., pp. 129-131.

Moreover, he outlines a detailed step-by-step Biblical interpretative method. In comparison, the other lecturers, with the exception of Pitt-Watson, have considerably less to say than Cleland. Since these other lecturers come before and after Cleland chronologically, and since they give less attention to Biblical interpretation, they shall be considered together in the next section.

In his opening lecture, he states the central questions for which he will seek answers. He asks: "What is the Word of God? How do we find it? It is within the Bible, but where?"[1] Since the Bible is understood to contain the Word of God, interpretation and how one does interpretation are held to be of central importance for preaching.

In his third lecture, Cleland describes what he conjectures to be the antithesis of true interpretation. He labels it "the homiletical sin of eisegesis."[2] Eisegesis is done by plucking a passage of Scripture from its context and reading into it whatever meaning the preacher desires that text to have.[3] No matter what reasons are given, eisegesis is a dishonest use of Scripture.

Among these dishonest uses of Scripture, the allegorical method is listed as one of them.[4] He cites, as an example of this method, a sermon on the four anchors of Acts 27:29.[5] He then goes on to write:

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[1]Cleland, Warrack, 1963/64, p. 18.

[2]Ibid., p. 62.

[3]Ibid., pp. 62-63.

[4]Ibid., pp. 68-70.

[5]Ibid., pp. 68-69.

> "The curse of the allegorical method is that it obscures the true meaning of the Word of God and had it not kept the Gospel truth central, it would have become cultic and heretical. In fact, this is exactly what happened when the gnostics allegorized the New Testament. The Bible treated allegorically, becomes putty in the hands of the exegete."[1]

For Cleland, allegorizing is just not what it seems to be - "a careful, valid handling of the Word of God as recorded in a passage of the Holy Bible."[2]

To avoid this "eisegetical malady," the preacher must do a proper interpretation of a Biblical passage. As he notes:

> "We are the interpreters of a spiritual heritage transmitted, written down, edited, re-edited, over a period of 1,400 years. Then the Book was translated, retranslated, paraphrased, and canonized. We are construers of the Word of God, which we know to be ancient and believe to be contemporary, because it is eternal. It is found in many places, though primarily in the Scripture."[3]

For him, the purpose of carefully interpreting a text is to aid in the process by which one discovers the Word of God. Although he does not equate a carefully interpreted text with the Word of God, he does perceive this to be a necessary aspect of the process.

To discover the Word of God, he asserts that preachers must proceed through three stages of reflection. The first is what he labels "investigation (or, exegesis) of an historic Word of God."[4] The second is the

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[1] Ibid., p. 69. This is a quote taken from: Bernard Ramm, Protestant Biblical Interpretation (Boston, W. A. Wilde Co., 1956), pp. 32-33.

[2] Ibid., p. 70.

[3] Ibid., p. 72.

[4] Ibid., p. 73.

"interpretation (or, exposition) of the eternal Good News at the heart of it."[1] The third is the "application of the eternal Good News to the Contemporary Situation."[2] Exegesis is then the first stage within this process of discovering the Word of God.

The purpose of exegesis is therefore "the attempt to find the Good News at the heart of a Word of God, recorded in the words of the Bible, or of a creed, or of a hymn, or in the life of a saint, or in an historical event. In each and every case this is an effort to find the meaning for its own time, not for ours."[3] Although the Word of God is found in various places besides the Scriptures, the Bible remains the primary source. The purpose of exegesis is to discover the meaning of a passage for its time.

To accomplish this exegetical goal, he is quite specific. "This can be done by asking key questions."[4] His questions are as follows;

1. "Who was the author and had he a right to speak for God? We may be ready to accept the testimony of Second Isaiah and Paul, but we may have legitimate doubts about Goliath and Job's friends.

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[1]Ibid. To clear up any confusion at this point, I am using the word "interpretation" to cover the entire process by which one discerns, explains, and applies the meaning of Biblical subject matter. Cleland here uses the term to apply only to the second phase of the interpretative process. p. 73.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Ibid. These questions have been arranged in numerical order for the sake of clarity. They are not found so listed in Cleland's lectures.

2. Where did he speak? In Jersualem, or Athens, or Geneva, and in what kind of situation?

3. When did he proclaim - 1200 B.C. or 740 B.C. or A.D. 52 or A.D. 1517 or A.D. 1738 or A.D. 1945? The speaker is always influenced, pro or con, by his historical environment.

4. Why did he speak as he did?

5. What was his personal bias - legalistic, prophetic, apostolic, or what?

6. How did he transmit his message - in prose or poetry, in law or drama, in parable or letter, in proverb or song? The different genres require different treatment. Poetry should not be interpreted as prose; parable is a unique form of literary construction with singular rules for elucidation.

7. What was he actually saying, or trying to say, to his contemporaries?

8. What was the gist of his message for his own time?"[1]

After these exegetical questions are answered, then one is to compose a "textual proposition: a statement, in a sentence or a short paragraph, of the author's confident assertion of the Word of God as it is found in the author's environment, in the setting in which he lived."[2]

From these questions, it is clear that this type of exegesis requires the use of a good many scholarly exegetical methods. It would include textual, historical, literary, form, and theological critical methodologies. Also, it is centered upon the objective aspects of exegesis. The assumption here is that this first stage of reflection does not include subjective influences.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., p. 64.

The second stage of reflection, Cleland calls interpretation or exposition. As he notes:

> "Interpretation is the second step: a proving to ourselves for the sake of our congregations that the textual proposition has within it a valid message for all times.... For this stage we must need know the whole history of the church, especially that aspect which is called systematic theology."[1]

Within this stage, one's denomination and its heritage become important components in determining "if the textual proposition - the ancient, local, particular Word of God - had a continuing echo and a recurrent message within the ongoing church down the centuries."[2] A preacher needs to ask: "Was the textual Word reiterated, modified, stifled, denied?"[3] "Such a study should result in a refined formulation of the textual proposition which is transformed, in our studied judgment, into an eternal proposition: a statement of our ecclesiastical tradition's interpretation of the eternal Good News lying in the text, true for all times and all places."[4]

It is within this second stage of reflection that the subjective influences become a factor, and he cautions his audience regarding their effects. Cleland states:

> "There will be some modesty connected with this part of our inquiry, because we are aware that a certain amount of personal bias, due to our ecclesiastical heritage and our hermeneutical preference, will affect our decision."[5]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 74-75.

[2] Ibid., p. 75.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid. By hermeneutical preference, he means whether one is a literalist, conservative, liberal, neoorthodox, or the like. See Ibid., p. 72.

At an earlier point, he also talks of how even one's "personal, spiritual hopes and fears would affect how one approaches the task of exposition."[1] It appears that in Cleland's assessment, the subjective influences do not affect exegesis, but they do affect this second stage of reflection.

The third step is application. The eternal truth derived from the second phase of reflection must now be applied to the contemporary situation. "Application is the relating of the truth, discovered by investigation and elucidated by interpretation to the environment of the congregation in front of us."[2] As he further argues:

> "It is when a minister sees the Good News penetrating an immediately Contemporary Situation that a Word of God is spoken. Then he is able to write his final proposition, which is the eternal proposition once again incarnate in the seething, surging life of his own day."[3]

For Cleland, "Investigation, or exegesis, deals with the then; interpretation, or exposition, deals with the always; application deals with the now. And the result? The Word of God is preached."[4]

Cleland then proceeds to show how his method works by giving an example. He chooses the Book of Ruth. By the findings of exegesis, he asserts that the aim of the book was to criticize the official ruling regarding the putting away of foreign wives.[5] Derived from this and other findings, "The textual proposition is that the judgments of the

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[1]Ibid., p. 72.

[2]Ibid., p. 76

[3]Ibid., p. 77

[4]Ibid.

[5]Ibid., pp. 77-78.

Jewish officials were not necessarily in accord with the will of God."[1] The question is then asked whether this is a transitory or eternal proposition. Other parallel situations are drawn from the Gospels, the Pauline Epistles, and the modern day church. By interpretation, "the eternal proposition may well be that God's ways are not necessarily those of the worshippers in any day or generation."[2] Looking at the contemporary situation, where national, racial, and denominational loyalties erect barriers between people and the inclusive grace of God, he concludes that the "final proposition is that God's ways are not necessarily those of his ecclesiastical spokesman."[3]

In the closing of his second lecture, Cleland summarizes his interpretative method by saying:

> "If we think of the Good News as a diamond, then we have a threefold task before us. First, we chisel the diamond out of the rock in which it was found; that is investigation. Second, we polish the diamond and cut it to reveal all its glory; that is interpretation. Third, we place it in a contemporary setting, as in a ring, for all to see in this day and generation; this is application."[4]

By using this method, he believes that one will avoid the homiletical sin of eisegesis and permit a Word of God to do what it will honestly with us.

As regards his theological slant, Cleland believes that there exists a central core of normative factors which assist the preacher in determining what is and what is not the Word of God. He affirms that the

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[1] Ibid., p. 78.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., p. 79.

[4] Ibid.

Bible contains the Word, but then he asks: "What is the word of God? How do we find it? How do we recognize it? It is within the Bible, but where?"[1]

In reply to these questions, he states: "Some of us know where the answer is to be found: Jesus Christ is the Word of God, the Word made flesh.... The Word is the Gospel of God concerning His Son, who was made flesh, suffered, rose from the dead, and was glorified through the Spirit who sanctifies.... The Bible houses the Christ."[2] This he posits is "the affirmed answer of orthodoxy."[3]

To further clarify and support this answer, he draws upon some of the tenets of recent Evangelical Liberalism.[4] The claim is that the historical Jesus, rediscovered through contemporary historical research, and the living Christ, experienced as an intimate presence within the soul, are one and the same. Quoting from Van Dusen, he argues:

> "But, for normative Evangelical Liberals, the Jesus of History and the Living Christ are a single organic, indissoluble personal reality. That reality is defined in the life, words, deeds, mind, spirit, faith of Jesus of Nazareth; it is known in present power in the Living Christ."[5]

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[1] Ibid., p. 18.

[2] Ibid. The second sentence of this quotation is taken from Martin Luther, Three Treatises (Philadelphia, The Muhlenberg Press, 1943), p. 254.

[3] Ibid.

[4] It is curious to note that Cleland refers to the recent work of Evangelical Liberals not as contemporary authorities but in a way that is apologetic. He states that Evangelical Liberalism is "so underrated, if not despised, in our day." See Ibid., pp. 18-19.

[5] Ibid., p. 19. Here he is quoting from H. P. Van Dusen, The Vindication of Liberal Theology (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1963), p. 41. He further adds that "Donald Baillie was in sympathy with this view point." See Ibid., p. 20.

Since this is so, both are central and authoritative when attempting to establish the Word of God.

For Cleland, "the quest of the Jesus of history is and will be a recurring question and problem and solution. Therefore, there is an essential duty laid upon us to read, study, and inwardly digest the gospels until we know and have the mind of Christ."[1] Even so, "the norm for the Word of God" is "not merely the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth."[2] It must also include the living Christ.

Because this is so, Cleland contends that "we must make a place for the doctrine of the Holy Spirit when we seek to find the authentic, authoritative Word."[3] Although he does not delineate in full his concept of this doctrine, he does argue that "the Spirit of God and the person of Jesus the Christ are brought into an inseparable connection."[4] Moreover, quoting Romans 8:9-11, he further claims that the Spirit and the indwelling Christ are in essence "synonymous terms."[5]

Even though one must make a place for the Holy Spirit, the need still exists for a norm by which to test its activity. He states:

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[1]Ibid., p. 20

[2]Ibid., p. 22

[3]Ibid.

[4]Ibid., p. 23.

[5]Ibid.

> "It was seen that there must be a norm to test the presence and activity of the Holy Spirit and to define the specific content of Christian thought and action. The testing norm was the mind of Christ known in Jesus the Son and constantly measured by the gospel portrayals."[1]

For Cleland, in order to establish the authentic and authoritative Word, one must make a place for both the historical Jesus and the living Christ. Each serves to inform and test the other.

In addition to these, Cleland claims that there is yet another norm. He contends:

> "But the Word of Scripture, tested by the indwelling Christ, is not the only norm for the churches in the Reformed heritage. Such a standard is an open sesame to an individualistic, atomistic interpretation of the Word of God. There is surely a place for ecclesiastical, denominational interpretation and definition of the Word revealed in Holy Scripture and tested by the living Spirit of the Christ which became flesh in Jesus."[2]

This claim opens up a discussion of tradition and its role as a norm in establishing the Word.

For him, tradition is a necessary component if one is to truly discover God's Word, but it should entail "a lively interpretation of the Word rather than the dead hand of the past. Tradition is necessary. But it is true only when it is the church's best corporate thinking under the guidance of the eternal Spirit seriously considering God's Word for us today."[3] Even including tradition and the other norms as

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[1]Ibid., p. 24.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid., p. 27.

well, one has not yet come to the end of the matter. One still has the problem of finding "an accepted norm, a norm which is found in Scripture and in the Word become flesh and in the tradition, but which sits in judgment, through the activity of the Holy Spirit, upon both Testaments and upon the decisions of the church made in solemn assembly."[1]

This norm or "unambiguous, central recurring fact upon which the Bible and Jesus and the Holy Spirit and the tradition fundamentally agree,"[2] Cleland believes, goes something like this:

> "God of his own free will is constantly seeking to bring man into right relations with him, not because of any merit on man's part, but because of God's own nature. He created man for himself and, despite man's blundering and 'cussedness' and sin, God makes recurring efforts to bridge the gulf which man has made between himself and God. God is, therefore, not only Creator and Sustainer - He is redeemer."[3]

This, he argues, is the "refrain of the Old Testament," and "the chorus of the New Testament," and "the sum and substance" of the doctrine of Atonement."[4]

To further support this norm, Cleland cites the work of P. T. Forsyth. He argues that:

> "Our job as preachers is not only to establish a canon within the canon but, in P. T. Forsyth's words, to find a gospel within the Scriptures: "Remember that Christ did not come to bring a Bible but to bring a Gospel. The Bible arose afterwards from the Gospel to serve the Gospel... The Gospel was there before the Bible, and it created the Bible, as it creates the true preacher and the true sermon everywhere.'"[5]

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[1] Ibid., p. 28.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., pp. 28-29.

[4] Ibid., pp. 29-30.

[5] Ibid., p. 31. This quote is taken from P. T. Forsyth, Positive Preaching and Modern Mind (Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, [1907]), pp. 9-10.

It is by the use of this "canon within the canon" and the other norms as well that a preacher is able to discern whether this passage rather than that passage is truly the Word of God.[1]

Summing up his theological hermeneutic very neatly, Cleland says:

> "The Word of God is the activity of the living personal Creator, Sustainer, and Redeemer made known in the Bible, in the Spirit, and in the tradition of the church. This is a valid point of reference for preaching."[2]

In a significant way, these norms by which to establish and test the Word of God would affect his approach to the interpretation of any particular text or passage of Scripture.[3]

If one were to venture an opinion regarding his specific theological slant based upon this hermeneutic, one would conclude that Cleland followed in a tradition that was sympathetic to a modernized version of Evangelical Liberalism. He not only employs some of its tenets, but he also cites the work of Evangelical Liberals, like H. P. Van Dusen, to support his arguments. Although his discussion of the norms for establishing God's Word clearly show an acquaintance with the agenda Barthian theology was setting for theological reflection, he was unwilling to advocate its extremes. With the support of other like minded theologians, Cleland appears to pursue a more moderate course between the excesses of the original advocates of Liberal Theology and the extremes of Barthian theology. He, more or less, charts a middle course between the two, yet it is evident from of his remarks

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[1]Ibid., p. 17.

[2]Ibid., p. 32.

[3]See George A. Buttrick, et. al. The Interpreter's Bible (New York, Abingdon Press, 1956), Vol. VI, p. 958. Herein, Cleland asserts the significance of God as creator, sustainer, and redeemer.

that the tenets of Evangelical Liberalism were coming under heavy criticism and required somewhat of an apologetic to employ them.

Turning now to consider the more subjective and personal aspects of Biblical interpretation, one finds in Cleland's lectures a curious lack of information. The devotional use of Scripture, the importance of the preacher's personality, and the role of personal religious experience as ways of ascertaining the meaning of Biblical subject matter are nowhere discussed in his Lectureship. Moreover, he seems to assume that exegesis is unaffected by subjective influences. The exegetical model he recommends is scientific and technical, and its frame of reference is exclusively objective. Personal bias, created by ecclesiastical heritage and hermeneutical preference, is not considered as problematic until the second or interpretative stage of homiletical reflection, and he warns that a certain amount of modesty should be connected with this part of the inquiry. Furthermore, although he includes the role of the Holy Spirit in discerning what is and what is not the Word of God, he places its role within a group of norms which function as a set of checks and balances to test its input. All in all, when compared with the lecturers of the 1940s, Cleland gives very little content and consideration to the more personal and subject aspects of interpretation.

Summing up, Cleland argues that in order to authentically discover the Word of God, the preacher must go through a linear series of three reflective stages. These are exegesis or investigation, interpretation or exposition, and application. He also asserts that there exists a central core of normative factors which assist the preacher in determining what is and what is not the Word of God. This theological hermeneutic includes the Jesus of history as portrayed in the Gospels, the living

Christ as experienced within the soul, the tradition of the Church, and a canon within the canon which speaks of God as creator, sustainer, and redeemer. Each of these informs and tests the others.

As regards his theological slant, Cleland appears to arise out of a tradition which is sympathetic to some of the tenets of Evangelical Liberalism. Although he is cognizant of the criticisms being aimed against this theological position, he appears nonetheless to be willing to support some of its viewpoints. He seems to be defending a middle ground between the excesses of Liberal Theology and the extremes of Barthian Theology.

Finally, as regards the more subjective aspects of interpretation, one finds in his lectures a curious lack of information. Some of these subjective aspects, so prominent in the Lectureships of the 1940s, are nowhere to be found in his lectures. In comparison to the Lectureships of the preceding two decades, Cleland gives little consideration or content to the more personal and subjective side of interpretation. As a whole, his recommendations regarding how to do Biblical interpretation lean heavily toward the more scholarly and objective aspects.

The Other Lecturers of This Period

With the exception of Pitt-Watson, the other lecturers of this period have considerably less to say about Biblical interpretation for preaching than did Keir or Cleland. For this reason, the Lectureships of MacKenzie and McWilliam will be dealt with together in this third section.[1] Since Pitt-Watson gives much attention to Biblical interpre-

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[1]The Lectureship of A. J. Boyd has not been included because his lectures focused upon foreign Christian mission and because he adds nothing of relevance to this present examination.

tation and since his Lectureship is the final one chronologically within this study, his lectures will be dealt with separately in the subsequent section.

Hamish C. MacKenzie

The first lecturer to be considered is Hamish C. MacKenzie, and he puts forward a conservative view of Scripture. He writes:

> "And therefore some of us would hold that the traditional understanding of the Bible as the Word of God written, fully inspired and absolutely trustworthy, is the only view which does justice to the claims of scripture, the teaching of our Lord, and the inherent necessities of the Evangel."[1]

For him, the Bible is literally the Word of God produced by a burst of "God-breathed illumination" in the soul of its authors.[2]

As he proceeds, he amends this view of Scripture slightly. He argues:

> "No one in his right senses would want to take every word of the Bible literally. There are some disputed passages where scholarship must be allowed to guide us in the exact reading of the text. But the Bible as a whole is what God meant it to be."[3]

According to his viewpoint, the various books of the Bible were fore-ordained by God. He knew the men who were to be His scribes. "He arranged

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[1]MacKenzie, Warrack, 1962, pp. 40-41.

[2]Ibid., p. 41.

[3]Ibid., p. 42.

that they should address the world of their time in the language and concepts of their day. Yet it was all His from first to last."[1]

Later on, in his fourth lecture, MacKenzie stresses that the Scriptures are literally the living Word of God. He concludes:

> "In Hebrews IV, 12, we read, 'The Word of God is alive.' Hence the content of scripture must never be treated as mere material. It is not debris on an excavation site to be discussed and ticketed by archeologists. It has the same present existence as we have ourselves. Therefore when it stirs within the mind we recognize it just as we would another individual who was addressing us."[2]

Since the Bible has this present existence, preachers must allow it to address them instead of treating it strictly as an ancient piece of human writing.

Since this is so, a preacher needs to approach the Scriptures as he/she would approach no other book. He writes:

> "It (the Bible) is not ours to cut and carve according to our learned ingenuity. One's mind shrinks with a sense of horror from the complacent and quite unprovable assumptions that mar so many commentaries. Who are we to impose upon the Sacred Volume our own ideas of what it ought to teach? Surely our business is to receive the Bible message like Paul's friends at Salonika 'not as the word of men, but as it is in truth the word of God.'"[3]

MacKenzie applauds as profoundly wise the quote from John Newton where he says we should follow God with child-like simplicity of faith and without reasoning.[4] Apparently, in his view, preachers should listen to the

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[1] Ibid., p. 42.

[2] Ibid., p. 85.

[3] Ibid., pp. 42-43.

[4] Ibid., p. 43.

Scriptures with child-like simplicity and without attempting to make them intellectually acceptable.

In order to understand the message of Scripture, MacKenzie believes that one must live in the Bible world. That is, the Bible must become "one's daily and all-sufficient guide to life."[1] To hear God speak, "we must read the Bible, ransack the Bible, go to bed with the Bible, wake up in the morning with the Bible still at hand. We must know it and obey it."[2] When a person enters the Biblical world, his/her perspective on life is completely transformed and the Bible "comes alive" with direction from the Almighty.[3]

If a preacher has a particular problem or question to be answered, one should not make up one's mind by "ordinary intelligence" and then search the Bible for substantiation.[4] Instead, the preacher should go straight to the Bible. Here, with the aid of a concordance, one then balances "scripture against scripture" until one discovers "what God has been pleased to reveal to us on that question."[5] One should do this before one turns to a "reference volume " or the "latest pronouncement of an Assembly committee."[6] Essentially, if a preacher wants to

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[1]Ibid., p. 48.

[2]Ibid., p. 50.

[3]Ibid., pp. 50-51.

[4]Ibid., p. 49.

[5]Ibid., p. 50.

[6]Ibid., pp. 49-50. Although MacKenzie does note that there are some instances where the Bible does not deal with the matter at hand, he believes that these are fewer than most people think. In these cases, there is room for what he calls "sanctified commonsense." See Ibid., p. 49.

know what he believes about anything, this is the procedure he should follow.[1]

Turning now from theory to practice, MacKenzie recommends that the meaning of the text upon which the sermon is based should be made clear by using other passages of Scripture. He notes:

> "It is not enough to have a text. We should girdle it round with other illuminating passages. The Word interprets the Word."[2]

Since this is so, he further recommends that a preacher's library be filled with standard Biblical reference works. "The more dictionaries, encyclopedias and concordances he has, the better. They form the heart of any workshop and are worth yards of ephemeral theology."[3] In this way, one can do his/her own research directly from the Bible itself.

In his suggestions regarding the preparation of a sermon, he does not outline a particular interpretative method.[4] Apparently, commentaries are to be consulted as part of the process of understanding the meaning of a text. They serve to verify what the preacher has already discovered,[5] but he does not note what is to be done if the commentaries disagree with the insights of the preacher. Basically, he reveals more about his interpretative method by what he does not say than by what he does.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 49-50.

[2] Ibid., p. 87.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid., pp. 95-100.

[5] Ibid., p. 96.

For instance, he never uses the word "exegesis" in any of his lectures. Furthermore, he does not talk about employing any of the more contemporary methods of Biblical criticism. It is evident that these technical procedures for ascertaining the meaning of a text are not particularly important. The Bible says what it says. All one has to do is read it enough. If a problem does arise, then the preacher should consult other parts of Scripture, Bible dictionaries and encyclopedias and, perhaps, a commentary. Basically, the meaning of a Biblical text should be readily understandable by simply reading a particular English-translation of a text and considering its meaning in light of other relevant passages of Scripture.

In addition, the historical distance between the Scriptures and the modern readers is again not discussed. Furthermore, the transmission of the text, the variant Greek readings, and problems of translation from one language to another are not mentioned in his lectures. His particular viewpoint concerning the doctrine of the inspiration of the Scriptures seems all that is necessary to bridge these particular problems. For him, the Bible as written is literally the Word of God.

If one were to label MacKenzie's particular slant, one could say that he was a conservative evangelical or, perhaps, a fundamentalist. His views on the inspiration, authority, and absolute trustworthiness of the Bible, all point in the direction of fundamentalism. On the other hand, his emphasis upon winning souls,[1] conversion and sanctification,[2] and

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[1]Ibid., p. 19.

[2]Ibid., p. 78.

individualistic social piety,[2] all tend toward conservative evangelicalism. Common to both are tendencies toward anti-intellectualism,[2] a mistrust of human reason,[3] a literalistic method of Biblical interpretation, and an emphasis upon the sacrificial doctrine of the atonement.[4] Although it is difficult from his lectures alone to determine precisely his theological slant, one could say without too much distortion that he was a conservative evangelical with a fundamentalist understanding of the nature of Scripture.

As regards the more personal aspects of interpretation, the method previously described is in some ways highly subjective. MacKenzie claims that the Bible, as the living Word of God, "has a present existence as we have ourselves."[5] Therefore, the preacher can directly apprehend the meaning of the text as if it were "another individual who was addressing us."[6] Moreover, his insistence that the preacher live completely within the Bible world requires that the preacher engage the Bible in a highly subjective and personal way.[7] Furthermore, when appraising the meaning of Biblical material, MacKenzie does not encourage the use of the objective frame of reference or Biblical critical methodologies.[8] In a kind of living

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[1]Ibid., pp. 107-122.

[2]See Ibid., pp. 45-47.

[3]Ibid., pp. 43-48.

[4]Ibid., p. 37.

[5]Ibid., p. 85.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Ibid., pp. 48-51.

[8]Ibid., pp. 49-50.

dialogue, it is up to the preacher himself/herself to hear the Word of God and then preach accordingly. In each of these ways, his interpretative method appears to include many subjective aspects.

Since MacKenzie maintains this particular view of Scripture, his interpretative method appears simplistic in comparison with the other lecturers of this fifteen year period. Maybe this is the way he intentionally meant it to be. Perhaps, he is reacting against the growing acceptance and complexity of Biblical critical methodologies.[1] His method certainly appears to encourage the use of the more personal and subjective aspects of interpretation.[2] All in all, MacKenzie's method is significantly different from all the other lecturers of this period.

Stuart W. McWilliam

The second lecturer to be dealt with in this section is Stuart W. McWilliam. Although his viewpoints are not nearly as conservative as

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[1]Ibid., p. 41. Here he seems to be criticizing one of the basic criteria for the use of Biblical critical methods.

[2]If I may venture an opinion, all is not as it appears. MacKenzie's Biblical interpretative method is not as highly subjective as he would like to think. Since "the Word interprets the Word," one text must be understood within the context of others. Over the course of the years, some who have shared a similar view of Scripture have organized these texts systematically, and out of their work a distinctive theology has arisen. This theology eventually became a theological tradition. In my estimate, this theology and its accompanying theological tradition acts as a censor and a guide as MacKenzie seeks to apprehend the meaning of Biblical subject matter in a way that is much more objective and rationalistic than he would like to think.

those of MacKenzie, he does insist that the only kind of authentic preaching is Biblical preaching. As he writes:

> "The Word which the preacher declares is contained in the scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. It is revealed but it is also hidden. It has to be interpreted. It has to be made plain. Therefore true preaching must always be Biblical preaching."[1]

Since the Word of God is to be found within the Scriptures, it is the preacher's duty "to proclaim what God has done, and is doing, through the exposition of the scriptures."[2]

Further developing this concept, he stipulates that Biblical preaching allows the Bible to speak and to be heard. To accomplish this aim, he writes:

> "It (Biblical preaching) necessarily involves an honest study of the passage to discover what the writer actually said, the circumstances in which it was said and what it meant to those to whom it was first said. But it does not stop there. We must discover what this means for us today in the light of God's revelation in Jesus Christ and in the context of the people to whom we speak."[3]

Since this is so, the preacher has the dual task of understanding the original meaning of the text within its context and then translating that meaning so that those whom he addresses may comprehend its truth.

He does warn that there are certain procedures which are antithetical to these aims.[4] The first is finding a particular topic and then searching

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[1] McWilliam, Warrack, 1968/69, p. 6.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., p. 7.

[4] Ibid., p. 6.

the Bible for some text upon which to base it. He believes that this practice almost always results in a misuse of the Bible. The second is using the Bible as a series of proof texts to validate one's own theological presuppositions. He posits that this is not Biblical preaching because it is using "the Bible as the servant rather than being the servant of the Bible."[1] No matter how these methods are dressed up, they remain false to the goals of authentic Biblical preaching.

For McWilliam, the preacher has a dual responsibility both to the Word of God found in the exposition of the Scriptures and to the people to whom he declares that Word. This is because preaching "is not simply a mechanical recitation of certain facts but involves the interpretation and translation of the meaning of these facts in terms which will be intelligible and meaningful for those who listen."[2] To accomplish this, "it requires the discipline of prayer and study - study both of the Bible and of the World to which the message of the Bible is to be preached."[3] These particular viewpoints form the foundations for his understanding of Biblical interpretation for preaching.

In his recommendations regarding the preparation of a sermon, he believes that familiarity with the Bible is of the utmost importance. He writes:

> "The first essential is to know the Bible, to keep reading it and studying it, not simply as a source book for texts, but as the book in which is to be found the Word of God; that Word whose servant you are and by which you must yourself live."[4]

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[1] Ibid., p. 7.

[2] Ibid., pp. 7-8.

[3] Ibid., p. 8.

[4] Ibid., p. 38.

In this way, a preacher is enabled to see through the eyes of the Bible and to interpret contemporary life in Biblical terms.

After discussing this more generalized procedure, he then discusses what one is to do with a specific passage. After determining the text upon which to preach, one is then to discover "the best, the most accurate, translation of the text or passage chosen."[1] This can be accomplished by consulting good commentaries. In addition, one is also to answer some basic questions addressed to the text as further background work. He writes:

> "What do the words mean? What did they mean in the context in which originally they were written? What do they mean in the light of God's revelation in Christ for the people to whom on Sunday you will be speaking?"[2]

Although all this background work may not show up in one's sermon, it is his view that this preliminary study is essential.

Once this background work is completed, a preacher needs then to translate the Biblical meaning into terms which can be understood by those whom he addresses. As he argues:

> "Obviously the preacher must study the Bible but if he is to be an interpreter, he must also know the language of the people to whom he speaks and must be able to translate the truth in terms which they can understand. This is much more than simply a matter of words and syntax, important though these may be. The preacher must know the men and women to whom he speaks and the world in which they live."[3]

In McWilliam's view, the hermeneutical process necessary for preaching includes understanding the meaning of the text within its context, but

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[1] Ibid., p. 41

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., p. 7.

it is incomplete until that meaning is translated into a mode of expression which is comprehensible by his/her listeners. This forms the backbone of McWilliam's Biblical interpretative method.

As regards his theological slant, it is difficult to ascertain a clear picture from his lectures alone.[1] He does appear to approve of the work of Karl Barth. Throughout his lectures, he refers to Barth's work both directly and indirectly on several different occasions.[2] In fact, he quotes Barth more times than any other theologian or Biblical scholar.[3] In addition, McWilliam refers to C. H. Dodd's division between kerygma and didache,[4] and to Bultmann's construct of the three tiered universe.[5] Even so, there is not enough material in his lectures to give a clear indication of his particular theological slant.

As regards the more subjective aspects of interpretation, McWilliam believes that a preacher's personality is of great consequence. Its importance is not so much related to discovering the original meaning of the text as it is to translating that discovered meaning into terms his/her

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[1]As best as I was able to discover, McWilliam's only other publications were short sermon summaries in The Expository Times. Even with these, it was not enough information.

[2]For example, he refers to Barth directly on p. 9, 27, and 76; and indirectly in his understanding of the Word. As he notes, the Word in Scripture is revealed but hidden (p. 6). This echoes the thought of Barth.

[3]Moreover, when he refers to him directly, it is as if he is an established authority. See Ibid., p. 76.

[4]Ibid., p. 12.

[5]Ibid., pp. 20-21.

people can understand. He believes that for a preacher to view himself/herself as "a passive vehicle for the divine revelation" is both dangerous and psychologically impossible.[1] As he notes:

> "The preacher's person, his character, personality, emotional drives, prejudices and hidden preconceptions, are important elements in shaping his preaching."[2]

Therefore, a "preacher should be aware of himself, of the kind of person he is, of his own motivation."[3] In this way, the preacher will be more able to authentically proclaim the Word found in the Bible instead of speaking his/her own word.

Although McWilliam covers a lot of ground lightly in his lectures, he does raise some issues about Biblical interpretation which are further dealt with in the lectures of Pitt-Watson. His perception of the necessity for the preacher not only to discover the original meaning of the text but also to be able to interpret and translate that meaning appears again in Pitt-Watson's lectures. Moreover, McWilliam's recognition of a preacher's dual obligation to the Word and to the people also reappears in Pitt-Watson's lectures. Even though these issues are not dealt with in much detail, McWilliam does raise some concerns which are more closely examined in the next Lectureship.

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[1] Ibid., p. 72.

[2] Ibid., pp. 72-73.

[3] Ibid., p. 73.

Ian Pitt-Watson

The final Lectureship to be discussed in this chapter is that of Ian Pitt-Watson, and his is also the concluding one in this chapter. His lectures represent a kind of peak in the examination of Biblical interpretation for preaching within the Warrack Lectures. As he sees it, the hermeneutical process by which Biblical material is translated into the language and experience of contemporary people is the central problem facing every preacher today. This task and how to accomplish it makes up the major part of his Lectureship.

Like the other lecturers of this period, Pitt-Watson bases both his understanding of the nature of the Bible and preaching upon a doctrine of the Word of God. As he writes:

> "He (the preacher) must live and preach in the faith that the closer he comes to an understanding of the original meaning of the text of the Bible the closer he comes to the Word of God.... But if we accept (as I do) that the Word of God is contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, then we must accept this also. Unless the primary authority for what we are saying is Biblical, and therefore ultimately dependent on the original meaning of the text, we are not preaching, we are simply expressing an opinion."[1]

It is then part of the preacher's task to discover the Word of God as it is found within the Scriptures.

To accomplish this task, Pitt-Watson subscribes to the use of scholarly and technical exegetical methods and insists that "honest exegesis is essential."[2] Quoting from William Nicholls, he argues:

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[1]Pitt-Watson, Warrack, 1972/74, p. 56.

[2]Ibid., p. 69.

> "Every reader of the New Testament engages in interpretation.... He must decide first of all what the words meant for the first-century men who wrote and first read them. Only when he has thus discovered, so far as possible, the original meaning of the text can he go on to the second part of the task...."[1]

According to his view, without the use of scholarship, this task will not be properly accomplished since it "depends on a knowledge of the literature, social customs and philosophical outlook of the ancient world, which together provide the context for the thought of the New Testament writers."[2] Pitt-Watson insists: "That is why the technical academic training he (the preacher) has received in Biblical Criticism must never be allowed to become irrelevant to his homiletical task."[3]

In his example of a sermon which begins with the text, he describes the exegetical part of his homiletical method as follows.

1. After the particular passage is chosen (Mark 1:40-45), he suggests that one should consult a reliable commentary to establish the proper reading of the text. (Textual Criticism)

2. Then he talks of allowing one's mind to be "free to range over the passage until a theme emerges."

3. In this more or less brainstorming exercise, he allows historical and cultural background information to help him understand the text, i.e. the kosher laws regarding contact with a leper. (Historical Criticism)

4. He also allows literary criticism to help him to further understand the meaning of the passage, i.e. the "Messianic Secret" in the whole of Mark's Gospel. (Literary Criticism)

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[1] Ibid., p. 54.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., p. 55. For more particulars on his views regarding exegetical method, see Ibid., pp. 68-69.

5. He also permits theological insights to aid in the focusing of the text's meaning, i.e. the relationship of Christ to the Law.[1]

From these various insights into the meaning of the text, he describes six different themes which emerge. He chooses only one based upon the phrase "Jesus touched him."

Even though understanding the text within its context is essential, it is not enough so that the Word of God can be heard through preaching. As he argues:

> "A true exposition of the original meaning of the text offers no guarantee that the Word of God has been preached. The kerygma is not heard unless 'the meanings which are possible within our present culture' are also realized: this is what demonstrates the text of the Bible to be the Word of God - its capacity to speak to men and women in our present culture. And by 'present culture' I mean simply how people think, act and feel now. Until the text of the Bible has been shown to be relevant and potent in the immediate social and personal concerns of contemporary life, it has not become the Word of God, however faithful the textual exegesis.... Yet 'the original meaning of the text' must remain the controlling factor. Hence the tension."[2]

"Every sermon," Pitt-Watson claims, "is stretched like a bowstring between the text of the Bible on the one hand and the problems of contemporary human life on the other. If the string is insecurely tethered to either end, the bow is useless."[3]

Stated precisely, Pitt-Watson believes that a preacher faces a dual task. He/She must be able to understand the text within its context

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[1]Ibid., pp. 88-89.

[2]Ibid., p. 56.

[3]Ibid., p. 57.

and then be able to translate that meaning into the language of contemporary life and experience. In his view, these tasks are not mutually exclusive but inter-related and mutually dependent. Each only shows what is already implicit in the other.[1] "Out of the tension between 'the original meaning of the text' on the one hand and 'the meanings which are possible within our present culture' on the other is generated the dynamic that makes preaching possible."[2]

Describing this dual task in a slightly different way, Pitt-Watson employs Barth's reflections on the nature of preaching. Quoting from Barth, he records:

> "I sought to find my way between the problem of human life on the one hand and the content of the Bible on the other. As a minister I wanted to speak to the people in the infinite contradiction of their life, but to speak the no less infinite message of the Bible ...."[3]

For Pitt-Watson, a preacher needs to be able to navigate the difficult course between the Scylla of life and the Charybdis of the Bible.

One particular aspect of this dual task includes translating the language of Canaan into the language of Babylon.[4] Unlike Barth, Pitt-Watson believes this is not only possible but essential.[5] He writes:

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[1]Ibid., pp. 70-71.

[2]Ibid., p. 55.

[3]Ibid., p. 6. This quote is taken from K. Barth, The Word of God and the Word of Man (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1928), pp. 100-101.

[4]Ibid., p. 40.

[5]Ibid., pp. 13-14.

> "This is what I mean by preaching in the language of Babylon. We must start with where people are, from the questions they are asking, using the language they are speaking. The Christian preacher who refuses to speak that language because it is the language of Babylon not the language of Canaan, because it does not express itself in Biblical and theological terms, will simply not be listened to, not because people are hostile to him ... but because he is speaking in a foreign language of which they understand little or nothing."[1]

Pitt-Watson does not mean that preachers should abandon the words of Canaan but to recover and reinstate them. "But this can only be done by trying to translate them as best we may into the language of the common speech and experience of those who listen to us."[2]

To accomplish this dual task and to resolve the problems presented by it, Pitt-Watson argues that a preacher must do both an exegesis of the text and an exegesis of life.[3] According to his view, these only show what is implicit in the other. As he explains:

> "These two kinds of exegesis are complementary. Biblical exegesis requires an exegesis of contemporary life and experience to show its relevance. An exegesis of life and experience requires a Biblical exegesis to show its theological content. But each only show what is there already in the other. A study of contemporary life and experience in depth reveals that the Bible has already plumbed these depths. A study of the Bible reveals the theological content already implicit in contemporary life and experience."[4]

Both of these types of exegesis depend upon each other to be complete. Moreover, each of these only show what is implicit in the other. Therefore, they are both mutually dependent and inter-related.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 52-53.

[2] Ibid., p. 53.

[3] Ibid., pp. 68-72.

[4] Ibid., p. 71.

The reason for this, Pitt-Watson asserts, is a theological one. He believes that "God's self-disclosure is made not only in the pages of the Bible but in contemporary life and experience as well."[1] It follows then that:

> "The preacher's task is therefore not simply to persuade his hearers that there is an analogy between some situation in the Bible and our situation today.... The preacher's task is to proclaim that God through Christ is speaking His Word to us now, not only through the words of the Bible but in the experience of contemporary life which we share together."[2]

Because God's self-disclosure is made in both the Bible and in life, a preacher needs to do both exegesis of Scripture and of life.

Since a sermon must possess both of these, it may arise out of either. In an example of the sort which originates in life, he describes the Biblical interpretative part of his homiletical method as follows:

1. After the particular problem is chosen (frustration), he defines what it is and asks some specific questions about it. All this is done to generally clarify the issue at hand.

2. Now, he turns to the Bible and asks: "What does the Bible have to say about frustration?"

3. He first chooses Ecclesiastes 1, and especially verse 14, as the starting point because it "has stated the contemporary problem with classic precision and power."

4. He then decides that this text does not provide a Christian answer to the problem. He turns to Romans 8:20. He decides that the text means that "God is at work in our frustrations."

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[1] Ibid., p. 70.

[2] Ibid.

5. He goes on to ask if the psychological mechanism of sublimation has a kind of relevance to this Christian answer. In addition, he also asks if Christ was not truly "the supreme victim of frustration."[1]

According to his view, this first draft has allowed a problem of human life and the content of the Bible to interpenetrate.[2] From this, he goes on to construct the sermon's outline.

Summing up his Biblical interpretative method thus far, Pitt-Watson writes:

> "If we take any significant element in human life and seek to understand it in depth, not merely with the intellect, but with the will and the emotions as well, we must expect to find the Word incarnate there - the Risen Christ there. Of course, unless our Biblical exegesis and theology are sound we will not recognize Christ in contemporary experience even if we meet him there. That is why, as Barth says, the preacher must always stand 'between Scylla and Charybdis - the Bible on the one hand, the problem of human life on the other;' or, as William Nicolls puts it, between 'the original meaning of the text' on the one hand and 'the meanings possible in our present culture' on the other."[3]

"Certainly the Bible and the original meaning of the text have logical and theological precedence. But when the preacher speaks of contemporary life and experience, he is not merely talking of something to which the Word of God is relevant but of something in which the Word of God is already implicit."[4]

In order to facilitate the preacher's dual task, Pitt-Watson claims that theology is essential.[5] As he notes:

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[1]Ibid., p. 98.

[2]Ibid., pp. 98-99.

[3]Ibid., p. 70.

[4]Ibid., p. 71.

[5]Ibid., pp. 61-62. Herein, Pitt-Watson lists several other ways in which theology is for preaching.

> "Theology is for preaching in the quite specific hermeneutical sense that its task is to translate the words of the Bible into the Word of God for our own time."[1]

For him, "theology is the conscience of preaching;"[2] and each sermon should be subject to "a simple but necessary discipline."[3] The preacher must ask: "What doctrine does this sermon seek to present and illuminate? If no clear answer can be given to that question, the subject matter of the sermon must be suspect."[4] This does not mean that every sermon must be the explication of some doctrine, but it does mean that every sermon should be undergirded by a particular doctrine that serves to facilitate the hermeneutic process of translation and keeps this process on course.

From all of this, one begins to gather a reasonable assessment of his overall Biblical interpretative method. Asserting that the Word of God is contained within the Scriptures, Pitt-Watson believes that the closer one gets to the original meaning of the text, the closer one gets to the Word of God. To accomplish this part of the preacher's task, he subscribes to the usage of scholarly and technical exegetical methods, yet understanding the text within its context is not enough so that the Word of God can be heard through preaching.

The second part of the preacher's task is to translate the original meaning of the text into the language of contemporary life and experience.

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[1]Ibid., p. 62.

[2]Ibid., p. 33.

[3]Ibid., p. 11.

[4]Ibid., pp. 11-12.

A sermon must navigate the difficult course between the Scylla of life and the Charybdis of the Bible. Moreover, the language of Canaan must be translated into the language of Babylon so that the Word of God might be heard and understood. Since it is the purpose of theology to facilitate the process of translation, Pitt-Watson claims that theology is essential for preaching. To accomplish this second part of the preacher's dual task, one must do not only an exegesis of the text but an exegesis of life as well.

Although he maintains that the original meaning of the text has logical and theological precedence, Pitt-Watson further argues that these two kinds of exegesis are not mutually exclusive but are in fact mutually dependent and inner-related. Each needs the other to be made complete, and each only serves to show what is already implicit in the other. The reason for this, he believes, is because God's self-disclosure is made not only in the Bible but in contemporary life and experience as well. Since this is so, a sermon may arise out of the text or life. The aim in all this, whether it be from text to life or life back to the text, is to enable the preacher to proclaim that God through Christ is speaking His Word to us in the here and now, not only through the words of Scripture but in the experience of contemporary life which we share together.

As regards his theological slant, like McWilliam, it is hard to gather a good assessment from the available resources. For the purposes of this study, it will suffice simply to note some of his responses to specific theological issues as evidenced within his lectures. Within his first two lectures, Pitt-Watson refers to a good number of academic theologians and their particular viewpoints. What follows will only be a few of the issues considered.

Throughout his lectures, Pitt-Watson draws heavily from the work of Karl Barth. Although he is convinced, like Barth, of the centrality of preaching[1] and of the belief that the real Christ is to be found in the proclamation of the church,[2] he is not afraid to disagree with him. For instance, after considering the Barth-Brunner debate over the implications of Natural Theology, Pitt-Watson sides with Brunner. As he writes:

> "I believe (with Brunner) that there is a 'point of contact' for the Gospel which the preacher must search for and recognize in his hearers if the Word of God is to be clearly heard. I believe that that point of contact is to be found primarily, though not exclusively, in inner-personal experience and moral consciousness which I am persuaded are areas of proper concern for the theologian and not just for the anthropologist or psychologist."[3]

Moreover, Barth maintains that there is a language of Canaan; "a special biblical-theological, God-given language in which alone we can speak with any assurance about God."[4] Pitt-Watson disagrees and asserts that this language of Canaan must be translated into the language of Babylon. Even though he treats Barth as an established theological authority, perhaps even the theological authority of this time, he is not afraid to reject some of his more extreme claims.

Pitt-Watson also draws upon the work of Rudolf Bultmann and affirms his contention that preaching should and ought to be central to the church's life.[5] He also concurs with "Bultmann's existentialist thesis

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[1]Ibid., pp. 6-7.

[2]Ibid., pp. 5-6.

[3]Ibid., pp. 39-40.

[4]Ibid., p. 13.

[5]Ibid., p. 8.

that preaching ought to be an encounter in which men discover their own selves, disclosed in the light of the kerygma."[1] Here again, Pitt-Watson is also willing to disagree with Bultmann's more extreme claims. He does not concur with Bultmann's claim that the whole of theology should be founded upon an existentialist hermeneutic.[2]

In some ways, Pitt-Watson, like Professor Heinrich Ott who was Barth's successor at Basel, is seeking to discover a synthesis of the work of Barth and Bultmann.[3] For instance, he writes:

> "I am persuaded there is a middle way between Barth's biblical positivism in which nothing is to be translated from 'the language of Canaan' and Bultmann's full-blooded existentialism in which everything is to be translated."[4]

He further clarifies this by saying: "I am prepared to admit that no translation can be made without some distortion of meaning and that if we wholly lose touch with the original vocabulary and imagery of the Bible we will soon find ourselves groping. But I must still insist that an essential element in preaching is precisely this task of translating Biblical words and images into the coinage of contemporary language and contemporary experience."[5]

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[1] Ibid., p. 11.

[2] Ibid., pp. 13-14.

[3] See Heinrich Ott, Theology and Preaching (London, Lutterworth Press, 1965).

[4] Ibid., p. 14.

[5] Ibid.

As well as referring to the work of Barth and Bultmann, he also notes C. H. Dodd's division between kerygma and didache. Although he does not devalue this distinction, Pitt-Watson believes that it is "more rigid than the evidence warrants."[1] The reason for this, he believes, is that "theology and ethics are not two subjects but one."[2] As he sees it:

> "Although the Gospel is primarily concerned not with what we ought to do but with what God has done, it is only through what we ought to do - through our striving and our failing - that we come to understand what God has done."[3]

Arguing along these lines, Pitt-Watson concludes that "ethical talk, talk about human relationships, can itself be God-talk, can even be authentically kerygmatic."[4] In this way, a too rigid distinction between kerygma and didache is actually inappropriate for preaching.[5]

As regards the subjective aspects of Biblical interpretation, Pitt-Watson affords them a limited but significant role within the Biblical interpretative process for preaching. From his vantage point, the determination of the original meaning of the text appears to be primarily an objective task which employs scholarly and technical exegetical methods. It is as this original meaning is translated into "the meanings which are possible within our present culture" that the subjective aspects play an increasingly important role. By "present culture," he means simply how people think, act, and feel right now. Here again, even though the original meaning is given precedence over all else and theology acts to

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[1] Ibid., p. 41.

[2] Ibid., p. 42.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid., p. 43.

keep interpretation on course, somewhere along this line of translation the content of the sermon needs to be so shaped that it addresses not only the intellect but the will and emotions as well.

The reasons for this, Pitt-Watson believes, are both practical and theological. On the practical side, he argues that "the majority of people today are asking the big questions, not, as in past centuries, in the language of theology but in the language of ethics and psychology."[1] As he concludes:

> "We live in Babylon not Canaan and the language of Babylon today when it is talking seriously about human existence is primarily the language of ethics and psychology. We must not be afraid to speak that language or feel that our Gospel is necessarily tainted by being translated into the common tongue."[2]

This process of interpretation includes, among other aspects, the usage of the preacher's creative and imaginative abilities as he or she attempts to translate the Biblical and theological language of Canaan into the language of contemporary life and experience.[3]

On the theological side, Pitt-Watson argues that for preaching to be authentically kerygmatic, the content of the sermon should be so shaped that it addresses the whole person which includes the intellect, the will, and the emotions. Summarizing his argument, he writes:

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[1] Ibid., pp. 51-52.

[2] Ibid., p. 52.

[3] Ibid., p. 56. Here again, he reiterates his contention that "the original meaning of the text must remain the controlling factor."

> "Unless there is some measure of emotional involvement on the part of the preacher and on the part of his hearers the kerygma cannot be heard in its fullness for the kerygma speaks to the whole man, emotion and all, and simply does not make sense to the intellect and the will alone."[1]

According to his view: "Intellect and will alone may hear the Law preached but not the Gospel. The intellect may accept the truth of what is said and the will may strive to act upon it; but until the emotions assent to the intellect, the will will labor, and even if the Gospel is preached, only the Law will be heard."[2]

In order to translate the original meaning of the text so that it addresses the whole person, the preacher must not remain completely objective to the subject matter of the sermon.[3] As he writes:

> "Until the preacher is involved himself in what he is saying he is unlikely to involve others; until in some sense he has proved on his own pulses the truth of what he is saying he is unlikely to persuade others.... Preaching requires a total identification of the man who speaks with what he says."[4]

At some point along the way within the process of interpretation, the preacher must become subjectively involved with the subject matter. In this way, the content will be so shaped that it will address not only the intellect but the will and emotions as well.

Now, it is not that Pitt-Watson is giving free reign to the subjective aspects. Throughout his lectures, he places a great many limits upon their usage. For instance, preaching is not to be spiritual autobiography, untheological or bad theology, mere moralizing or moral

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[1]Ibid., pp. 47-48.

[2]Ibid., p. 47.

[3]Ibid., pp. 18-19.

[4]Ibid., p. 19.

hectoring, merely emotional, or subjectively introspective.[1] Moreover, he insists that the primary task of preaching is "to speak not of what we think and feel and ought to do but of what God is and does,"[2] yet again he reasserts the tension. By its very nature, the sermon will have failed "unless at some point and in some way the preacher's words about God have become God's Word to him and through him to his hearers."[3] At some point and in some way within the process of translation, the subjectivity of the preacher must be so engaged that the original meaning of the text might be so shaped that it addresses the whole person. In doing this and with the help of the Holy Spirit, the words of the preacher will become God's Word. In this way, Pitt-Watson ascribes to the more subjective aspects a limited but significant role within the overall process of Biblical interpretation for preaching.

In conclusion, one perceives in Pitt-Watson's Lectureship a focused concern upon the hermeneutical process by which Biblical subject matter is so interpreted that it might become the Word of God. This process includes the use of a technical and scholarly exegesis of the text, theology, and an exegesis of life. Although the original meaning of the text must remain the controlling factor throughout, that meaning must also be translated into the language of contemporary life and experience. Within this process, he affords a limited but significant role to the more subjective aspects of interpretation. At some point and in some way within the

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[1]Ibid., p. 19, 33, 40, 44, and 50 respectively.

[2]Ibid., p. 11.

[3]Ibid., p. 20.

interpretative process, both the preacher's creativity and subjectivity are engaged in such a way that the Biblical subject matter might be so shaped that it addresses the whole person - the intellect, will, and emotions. In this way, the words of the Bible and of the preacher should become God's Word. Throughout his lectures, Pitt-Watson sees this process as meeting the most perplexing problems facing preachers today.

Summation

When comparing the information about Biblical interpretation found in this period from 1960 to 1975 to that discovered in the 1950s, one can make several general observations. Taken as a whole, the lecturers of this later period give even more content and attention to the topic than did their predecessors. Within this later period, information about it is found in six out of the seven Lectureships. More revealing is the amount of content and the depth of inquiry given to it. Both Cleland and Pitt-Watson devote the majority of their Lectureships to a study of interpretative method. Keir discusses Biblical interpretation in three out of his five lectures. The remainder, with the exception of Boyd, may not consider it as fully, but they are just as aware of the perplexities facing the modern interpreter of Scripture, and they do make some recommendations as to how to resolve them. Taken as a group, the lecturers of this later period give more content and attention to Biblical interpretation than did their predecessors of the 1950s.

Moreover, the information discovered within this later period is even more detailed than that of the previous decade. Both Cleland and Pitt-Watson carefully outline specific interpretative methods. Keir says

enough to arrive at a reasonable estimate of his overall method. On the whole, the lecturers not only discuss specific hermeneutical problems but also give recommendations and examples of how to resolve them. As a general observation, one could conclude that the lecturers of this later period are more concerned with the details of the overall task of Biblical interpretation than were their predecessors of the 1950s.

Also by way of comparison, one perceives a further continuance of the trends identified within the Lectureships of the 1940s and supported by those in the 1950s. The developmental direction toward a greater valuation of the more objective aspects of interpretation is further confirmed when the Lectureships of the 1950s are compared with those of this later period. This can be seen not only in Clelands's insistence upon the use of objective and scholarly exegetical methods but also in the detailed recommendations he gives on how to do exegesis. Moreover, Keir, Cleland, and Pitt-Watson, each in their own way, set objective limits or norms by which to test the preacher's interpretation of Biblical subject matter. From MacGregor, through Stewart and McIntyre, through Craig and Cowan, to Cleland and Pitt-Watson, one clearly sees a greater valuation of the more objective aspects of interpretation.

This developmental direction can be further confirmed by an even greater lessening of emphasis upon the more personal and subjective aspects of interpretation. In the Lectureships of this later period, the importance ascribed to the more subjective aspects diminishes even in comparison to that given them in the 1950s. Cleland devotes an entire lecture to condemning any form of eisegesis or the reading into a passage what was not originally there. Moreover, some of the lecturers, like Keir and McWilliam, are suspicious about the role of the personality not

only in interpretation but within the overall task of preaching as well. The relevatory capacity of Scripture and the power of the Holy Spirit are upheld, but the condition remains that the original meaning of the text must be the controlling factor. Emphases upon personal religious experience and the preacher's devotional life as ways of apprehending the meaning of Biblical subject matter all but disappear. Even in comparison with the Lectureships of the 1950s, the emphasis upon these more subjective aspects further diminishes in this later period.

However, this does not mean that these later lecturers entirely eliminate the more subjective aspects from interpretation. Essentially, the categories have changed and so has the location of these subjective aspects within the overall interpretative process. Keir encourages the preacher to employ his/her imagination as one translates Biblical images into modern ones. Within the exposition stage of reflection, Cleland notes the way that one's ecclesiastical tradition and hermeneutical preference will effect how one interprets the text. Pitt-Watson insists that the subjectivity of the preacher be engaged in order that the content of the sermon might be so shaped that it addresses the whole person. Although these subjective aspects are to be employed modestly and with priority given to the more objective ones, they are retained to play a limited but significant role within the overall interpretative process.

Theologically, as well, one perceives a continuance of trends identified earlier. In this later period, many of the tenets of Liberal Theology come under intense criticism. Keir gives an impressive list of them. In Cleland's lectures, one notes how he assumes an apologetic posture in quoting from the work of H. P. Van Dusen. Although Cleland

would like to hold on to some of its specific gains, overall the influence of Liberal Theology appears to be fading almost to the point of disappearing.

No doubt, this is due in part to the ever increasing popularity and credibility of Barthian theology. By the time of McWilliam's and Pitt-Watson's Lectureships, there is no question that Barth is considered to be a, perhaps, the theological authority. McWilliam alludes to him more than any other scholar. Pitt-Watson employs his perspectives throughout his lectures. Theological constructs reasserted by Barth, like the three-fold form of the Word of God, are not quoted but simply assumed. Keir is a good example. Even so, the lecturers do not always concur with Barth's viewpoints. Pitt-Watson sides with Brunner instead of Barth in their debate over Natural Theology. Over the course of this period, it is evident that Karl Barth has become the theologian to be dealt with.

Another scholar whose work has steadily grown in credibility during this later period is Rudolf Bultmann. Although his radical historical skepticism regarding the nature of the Gospels is rejected by all the lecturers, his understanding of form criticism, the kerygma, and his existentialist hermeneutic are cautiously considered to be important. For instance, Keir adopts one of the basic presuppositions of form criticism. Although he affirms the solid historical framework of the Gospels, Keir does note that some of the historic facts are made to wear a halo in the interest of Christological proclamation. Moreover, Cleland insists that different literary forms, like say the parables, require specialized treatment. Furthermore, Pitt-Watson employs Bultmann's concept of the kerygma.

He also notes the importance of his existentialist hermeneutic, but he is unwilling to go as far as to make it the whole of theology. Throughout this period from 1960 to 1975, the work of Rudolf Bultmann steadily grows in credibility.

A few general remarks on the Lectureships of this later period and then we shall move on. A commonality shared by several of the lecturers is the necessity of translating Biblical language and theological concepts into the language of contemporary life and experience. The practical problem which lies behind this necessity is that modern people are having difficulty comprehending religious language. It has become, as it were, a foreign tongue. Not only has the wind of science and contemporary knowledge blown upon the Bible and demanded a more modern approach to it as was thought in the 1950s, but now another dilemma has been added to the preacher's venue, and that is the problem of religious language and how to translate it appropriately. This appears to be the practical reason that prompts several of the lecturers to deal so thoroughly with the Biblical interpretative process. Instead of entering into an analysis of all the lectures from 1940 to 1975 which would only have to be repeated later on, we shall now move directly and abruptly into the second part of this dissertation.

Chapter Four

Developments in Biblical Interpretation Within Scottish Academic Scholarship from 1881 Until the Great War

Essentially, it is the intent of this second part of the dissertation to report and examine some of the developments within the field of Biblical interpretation found in Scottish academic scholarship. This survey will cover the period from 1881 to the early 1960s and will focus upon those developments which are germane to this study. Because of this focus, the examination will not be in any sense comprehensive. Its aim will be only to report those developments which are necessary for the subsequent correlation and analysis in Chapter Seven. Within that final chapter, an attempt will be made to see what kind of relationship, if any, there is between the developments found within the Warrack Lectureships and those discovered in Scottish academic scholarship

It is for these reasons that this second part of the dissertation will be separated into three chronologically divided chapters. Chapter Four will cover the period running from the 1880s to the outset of the Great War. Chapter Five will deal with the time between the wars, and Chapter Six will survey the post-war era until the early 1960s. Generally, these historical divisions correspond to the major turning-points within Scottish Biblical scholarship.

Moreover, an attempt will be made throughout to focus upon those developments which found their way into divinity college classrooms and caused discussion and debate. Subsequently, these would be of

the same kind that would affect and shape the way their graduates interpreted Biblical subject matter for preaching. Therefore, there will be an inherent superficiality about the developments reported herein.

As regards the contents of Chapter Four specifically, a further narrowing will occur. Since the majority of the earlier Warrack lecturers did their training at Free Church Divinity Colleges, an attempt will be made to focus primarily upon their representative teachers and teachings. Although the Free Church Colleges were somewhat more conservative than their Church of Scotland cousins, the developments found reported within were widespread. The time lines may differ somewhat, but essentially the developments were similar in both.

Reflecting back over the late Victorian period, it was inevitable that the churches in Scotland would eventually have to face the questions posed by Biblical Criticism to traditionally accepted standards of orthodoxy. In some ways, the advent of these questions was delayed. "At the time of the Disruption in 1843 the authority not only of the Bible but of the Westminister Confession was regarded as unshakeable both in the Established Church and in the Free Church, by Moderates as well as by Evangelicals.... Indeed, the evangelical fervour of the Free Church heightened its attachment to a rigid Calvinism and its determination to remain theologically immobile."[1] Until the proceedings against William Robertson Smith, "no one arose in the Free Church to disturb the orthodoxy

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[1]Alec R. Vidler, The Church in an Age of Revolution; 1789 to the Present Day (Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1981), p. 169.

upon which it prided itself."[1] It is to those events surrounding Smith's trial that we now turn.

The Trial of William Robertson Smith

According to one source, A. B. Davidson "was the first to teach in any proper and continuous way the methods of the higher criticism."[2] In his commentary on the Book of Job, Davidson wrote:

> "The Books of Scripture, so far as interpretation and general formal criticism are concerned, must be handled very much as other books are handled. We do not speak here of the feeling of reverence and solemnity with which we handle these books, knowing them to be the Word of God, ... but of the intellectual treatment and examination of them during the process of ascertaining their meaning. That treatment must be mainly the same as the treatment which we give to other books."[3]

Although he noted his indebtedness to German Biblical scholars like Schlottman, Stickel, and Ewald,[4] he did not accept all their various perspectives. One thing is certain. He did adopt their critical methods.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] S. D. F. Salmond, "A. B. Davidson, D. D., LL. D.," in E. T., Vol. 8, July 1897, p. 455. See also J. H. S. Burleigh, A Church History of Scotland (London, Oxford University Press, 1960), p. 359. A. B. Davidson was Professor of Old Testament Language, Literature, and Theology at New College from 1870 to 1902.

[3] A. B. Davidson, A Commentary, Grammatical and Exegetical, on the Book of Job; With a Translation (Edinburgh/London, Williams and Norgate, 1862), p. ix.

[4] Ibid., pp. vii-viii.

Again showing the influence of German Biblical scholarship, Davidson maintained that any valuable exposition must be based upon grammar. He wrote:

> "For Grammar is the foundation of Analysis, Analysis of Exegesis, Exegesis of Biblical Theology, and Biblical Theology of Dogmatic. We in this country have been not unaccustomed to begin at the other end creating Exegesis and Grammar by deduction from Dogmatic, instead of discovering Dogmatic by induction from Grammar."[1]

Because of this conviction, his commentary was based directly upon the Hebrew text. Both his understanding of the treatment of the Bible in formal criticism and his conviction about the nature of exposition were without precedent in Scotland.[2]

These teachings were carried even further by his pupil, William Robertson Smith.[3] In Davidson's own words, "Mr. Smith is by far the most distinguished student I have ever had in my department."[4] After graduation, he spent a short time studying under Albrecht Ritschl at Gottingen and then returned home at the age of twenty-four.[5] Upon the recommendations of his mentor and others like Principal Robert Rainy,

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[1]Ibid., pp. v-vi.

[2]Andrew L. Drummond and James Bulloch, The Church in Late Victorian Scotland (Edinburgh: St. Andrew Press, 1978), p. 44.

[3]It is important to note that William Robertson Smith was Professor of Old Testament Language and Literature at the Free Church College, Aberdeen, from 1870 to 1881.

[4]Ibid., p. 46.

[5]Bernard M. G. Reardon, From Coleridge to Gore; A Century of Religious Thought in Britain (London, Longman Group, 1971), p. 412.

he was elected to the Chair of Oriental Languages and Old Testament Exegesis at the Free Church College at Aberdeen in 1870.[1] During his years at Aberdeen, he returned to Gottingen and made the acquaintance of Julius Wellhausen.[2] "The scientific study of the Bible had long been de rigueur in German Protestant theological faculties and Smith's naturally inquiring mind encountered no problem whatever in adopting the critical standpoint."[3] Although he had no problems with the critical standpoint, there were many in the Free Church who did.

Unlike Davidson who "carefully safe-guarded his words by judicious qualifications,"[4] his most distinguished student did not.

> "Trouble began with an article on the Bible contributed by Smith to the new 1875 (ninth) edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica in which he expounded and partly accepted the Wellhausen hypothesis on the composite nature of the Pentateuch."[5]

The skies grew darker as his version of Biblical Criticism and its results appeared in other publications. Conservative elements in the Free Church who adhered to the dogmatic Calvinism of the Disruption were particularly offended.[6]

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[1]Drummond and Bulloch, The Church in Late Victorian Scotland, p. 46.

[2]Reardon, From Coleridge to Gore, p. 412.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Drummond and Bulloch, The Church in Late Victorian Scotland, p. 44.

[5]Burleigh, A Church History of Scotland, p. 359.

[6]Drummond and Bulloch, The Church in Late Victorian Scotland, pp. 52-53.

Because of this controversy, the College Committee met on 17 April 1876 and could not avoid considering Smith's publications.[1] At their August meeting, certain conservatives, like James Begg, wanted action. A sub-committee was duly elected and met the following month. The sub-committee's report was drafted and on 17 January 1877, it was published.[2] By March of that year, the Commission of Assembly had accepted the report and referred the matter to the Presbytery of Aberdeen.[3] After numerous discussions, the case was returned to the Assembly, and the storm finally broke loose when the Assembly gathered in May of 1877 and Smith requested that "the charges against him should be reduced to the form of a libel."[4]

The opponents of Smith feared that the version of Biblical Criticism he was propagating would undermine the traditionally accepted authority of the Scriptures.[5] In their viewpoint, which was mainly based upon the Westminster Confession, the Bible was divinely inspired and therefore authoritative for faith and life. Attached to this primary proposition were others about the dating, authorship, and composition of the various books of the Bible. These secondary propositions were being put to the test and some were being directly questioned, by Smith, e.g. the Mosaic authorship of Deuteronomy. Although many of these secondary propositions were not mentioned specifically in the Westminster Confession, they were

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[1] Ibid., p. 52.

[2] Ibid., p. 55.

[3] Ibid., p. 57.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid., p. 55. See also pp. 58-59.

traditional and accepted by many. It was feared that Smith's critical judgments about these secondary propositions would eventually lead to the conclusion that the divine inspiration, and therefore the authority of the Bible, were also suspect.

Moreover, Smith stressed the subjective idea of revelation. "Revelation was to be understood as the direct witness of the Spirit to the individual soul. Revelation is God Himself coming forth in direct personal encounter with human lives. It is not the giving of objective truths about God. And least of all is it to be thought of as an inerrant catalogue of doctrinal propositions."[1] Because of this understanding of revelation, he held a view of the nature of the Bible which was antithetical to those who held it to be a body of abstract religious truths.[2]

In Smith's view, "the Bible is the record of this historical revelation which culminated in Christ. It is here we have the account of God's gracious self-disclosure. But being a record of men, especially illuminated though they may have been, the Bible cannot but betray evidences of verbal and historical errors. But these errors do not detract from its worth; for the Word of God is not the Scripture, but is that into which we are introduced by the Scripture and to which it is a witness."[3] In his opponents' view, it was feared that these critical

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[1]H. D. McDonald, Theories of Revelation; An Historical Study 1860-1960 (London, George Allen and Unwin, 1963), pp. 31-32.

[2]Drummond and Bulloch, The Church in Late Victorian Scotland, p. 48.

[3]McDonald, Theories of Revelation, p. 32. For further information on Smith's view of Scripture, see T. M. Lindsay, "Professor W. Robertson Smith's Doctrine of Scripture," Expositor, 4th series, Vol. X, 1894, pp. 241-264.

teachings would compromise the historical authenticity of the Bible, and therefore its inspiration and authority. On the 15th January, 1878, his opponents had completed the draft of the libel.[1]

Condensed into the form of a libel, there were eight charges brought against him:

> "He had taught that the Pentateuch was not Mosaic but had been compiled long after the entry into Palestine. Secondly, he had denied the historicity of Deuteronomy. Thirdly, he had represented the inspired writers as taking liberties and making errors. Fourthly, he had regarded the books of Job, Jonah, and Esther as containing poetic inventions or fictions. Fifthly, he had denied the spiritual character of the Song of Songs and regarded it only as 'a high example of virtue in a betrothed maiden.' Sixthly, he had repudiated the comments of our Lord on the authorship of Old Testament books. Seventhly, he had regarded prophecy as arising from spiritual insight and lacking the element of prediction. Eighthly, he had dismissed the super-human reality of angels as a popular assumption and not a doctrine of revelation."[2]

Of these eight charges, he was acquitted of seven and found guilty of only one.

On the 24th May, 1881, the Assembly voted 439 to 245 in favour of Smith's condemnation.[3] The resolution moved by Principal Rainy read as follows:

> "The General Assembly, having the responsible duty to discharge of overseeing the teaching in the Divinity Halls, while they are sensible of the importance of guarding the due liberty of professors, and encouraging learned and candid research, feel themselves constrained to declare that they no longer consider it safe or advantageous for the Church that Professor Smith should continue to teach in one of her Colleges."[4]

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[1] Drummond and Bulloch, The Church in Late Victorian Scotland, p. 59.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., p. 73.

[4] Burleigh, A Church History of Scotland, p. 360.

The curious aspect of this resolution is that it does not condemn the methodologies of Biblical Criticism taught by Smith.[1] This is simply a vote of no confidence in his abilities as a teacher.[2]

In many ways, one could say that 1881 was a turning point in the Biblical scholarship of the Free Church. Although Smith was deposed, Biblical Criticism was not. As one historian postulates:

> "The question of the legitimacy of critical biblical and theological scholarship was not indeed finally settled, but never again was it raised in such an acute form. As the older generation of Disruption worthies passed away and younger men took their place the theological climate changed. The traditionalists became a dwindling minority."[3]

Because of the dramatics associated with Smith's trial, the question of Biblical Criticism, its methods and results, was given public attention.[4] "Issues had been brought to the fore which could not now be ignored or suppressed. Younger churchmen were bound to take account of them and ponder their implications. Criticism had so challenged orthodoxy as to make a complacent relapse into the old assumptions impossible."[5]

A. B. Bruce and Marcus Dods

Because of the outcome of Smith's trial, "Biblical Criticism had established its right to be taught."[6] Even so, there were some who

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[1]Drummond and Bulloch, The Church in Late Victorian Scotland, p. 73.

[2]Reardon, From Coleridge to Gore, p. 413.

[3]Burleigh, A Church History of Scotland, p. 360.

[4]Reardon, From Coleridge to Gore, p. 414.

[5]Ibid., p. 415.

[6]Drummond and Bulloch, The Church in Late Victorian Scotland, p. 74.

continued to resist its acceptance.[1] In 1890, complaints were brought against the critical teachings of both A. B. Bruce and Marcus Dods.[2] As one source has it:

> "The Assembly's College committee examined the opinions attributed to both men and found them open to censure on a number of points, but not so far as to justify proceedings against them. The assembly took no action therefore, although it reaffirmed in unqualified terms the central articles of the Church's belief and deplored any attempts to undermine them. In particular the Assembly emphasized the infallible truth and divine authority of Scripture and deplored the use of language which seemed to maximize the element of human ignorance and error in the scriptural record."[3]

In all of this, Dods was "rebuked for lack of circumspection in his words," and Bruce was asked to "make plain his loyalty to Free Church standards."[4] "But neither professor was condemned, nor was the doctrine of verbal inerrancy expressly asserted."[5]

Much can be learned about the changes in the academic Biblical scholarship of the Free Church by looking briefly at some of the works of Bruce and Dods. In his first book, The Training of the Twelve, Bruce's treatment of the Bible is mainly expository and not critical.[6] For

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[1]Ibid., p. 267.

[2]Ibid., pp. 265-267. It is important to note that A. B. Bruce was the Professor of Apologetics and New Testament Exegesis at the Free Church College, Glasgow, from 1875 to 1899, and Marcus Dods was the Professor of New Testament Exegesis at New College from 1899 to 1909.

[3]Reardon, From Coleridge to Gore, p. 415.

[4]Drummond and Bulloch, The Church in Late Victorian Scotland, p. 266.

[5]Reardon, From Coleridge to Gore, p. 415.

[6]A. B. Bruce, The Training of the Twelve (Edinburgh, T. and T. Clark, 1871). Though this book was published in 1871, the groundwork was done a decade earlier. See pp. v-vii.

instance, he writes:

> "'Take heed,' He said as they walked along the way, 'and beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and of the Sadducees.' The word was spoken abruptly, as the utterance of one waking out of a reverie. Jesus, we imagine, had been brooding over what had occurred, while His disciples rowed him across the lake, sadly musing on prevailing unbelief, and the dark, lowering weather-sign, portentious of evil to Him and to the whole Jewish people."[1]

Although he uses some historical information about the Pharisees and Sadducees to add to his argument,[2] he basically draws his explanations from related texts and from his creative imagination.

In other parts of his first publication, he does exhibit an acquaintance with some critical studies. He notes in support of his contentions Ewald's Geschichte Christus,[3] Renan's Vie de Jesus,[4] and Sartorius' Die Lehre von der heiligen Liebe.[5] Even so, he lists Strauss and Renan among "the great masters of thoroughgoing unbelief."[6] He rejects Strauss' view of the resurrection with a minimal amount of argument.[7] Despite these references the great majority of his work is dedicated only to explaining the meaning of the text. At one point,

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[1]Ibid., pp. 159-160.

[2]Ibid., p. 160.

[3]Ibid., p. 35ff.

[4]Ibid., p. 331ff.

[5]Ibid., p. 485ff.

[6]Ibid., p. 157.

[7]Ibid., p. 498.

he even declines from dealing with the problem associated with the authenticity of the final verses of Mark's Gospel.[1] His concern for the methods and results of Biblical Criticism appears to be minimal.

Within his sermon entitled "Revelation and Inspiration," Dods puts forward a concept of the nature of Scripture.[2] He perceives the Bible to be the progressive narrative or record of God's revelation of Himself.[3] It is not to be seen as "an infallible oracle on all matters it incidentally touches."[4] The Bible was not written by God or at His dictation.[5] It was recorded by men who lived in history. He writes:

> "The truth is, it is no concern of the Bible's to teach history or science or to correct all the erroneous impressions and popular fallacies which existed in the minds of those who contributed to the Scripture. The information which its writers intended to convey to us, they were allowed to convey in the language of their own day and also in the style of thought in their own day."[6]

Although the historical writers of Scripture "spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost,"[7] they remained men. Dods declares in this sermon an understanding of the nature of Scripture that would encourage the use of critical methods.

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[1]Ibid., p. 536.

[2]Marcus Dods, Revelation and Inspiration; The Historical Books of Scripture (Glasgow, John N. Mackinlay, 1877).

[3]Ibid., pp. 4-5.

[4]Ibid., p. 9.

[5]Ibid., p. 3.

[6]Ibid., p. 10.

[7]Ibid.

By the mid 1880s, both Bruce and Dods show an increasing regard for Biblical Criticism. In an article written for the Religious Tract Society, Bruce carefully reports and examines Baur's concept of the beginning of Christianity and his views regarding the origins of the New Testament writings.[1] He criticizes Baur's work because:

1. the theory is founded on two philosophical assumptions which predetermine the results of his study, i.e., the miraculous is impossible and all historical movements proceed according to the Hegelian law of development by antagonism;[2]

2. the alleged antagonism between Paul and the original apostles is grossly exaggerated;[3]

3. the criticism of New Testament writings associated with this theory does not stand up to impartial investigation;[4]

4. the theological tendencies credited to the authors of the New Testament are, for the most part, imaginary.[5]

Although he disagrees with almost all of Baur's theory, he does admit that "it is causing the Christian Church to consider with increased carefulness the historical foundation of its faith."[6] As compared to his previous works, this article shows an increased awareness of the

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[1]A. B. Bruce, Ferdinand Christian Baur and His Theory of the Origin of Christianity and of the New Testament Writings (London, The Religious Tract Society, 1886).

[2]Ibid., pp. 31-35.

[3]Ibid., pp. 36-40.

[4]Ibid., pp. 40-48.

[5]Ibid., p. 55.

[6]Ibid., p. 56.

critical problems as well as a better knowledge of the general field of Biblical Criticism.[1]

In his Introduction to the New Testament, Dods reports and explores a wide range of critical issues.[2] "He introduced his readers to the Synoptic problem, found evidence for the priority of Mark in 'the rudeness and even vulgarity of his Greek,' and regarded Mark 16:9-20 as an appendix by an unknown hand. Arguments for and against the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel are given."[3] The Pauline authorship of various epistles, and especially the Pastoral Letters, is discussed both pro and con.[4] Although Dods, more often than not, simply notes the issues raised by the more recent criticism of the Bible, he does at other times make a stand with the findings of the critics.

Early in 1889, Bruce's The Kingdom of God was published.[5] Herein, like Dods, he not only reported and discussed, but also supported some of the findings of Biblical Criticism. "He had thought it possible that the evangelists had intentionally misplaced events, had invented narratives as a setting for Christ's sayings, and had added interpretations. He

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[1]This statement can be further substantiated by looking at A. B. Bruce, The Miraculous Element in the Gospels (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1886).

[2]Marcus Dods, An Introduction to the New Testament (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1888).

[3]Drummond and Bulloch, The Church in Late Victorian Scotland, p. 218.

[4]Dods, An Introduction to the New Testament, pp. 76-84. Information about the Pastoral Letters is found on pp. 167-177.

[5]A. B. Bruce, The Kingdom of God; or, Christ's Teaching According to the Synoptic Gospels (Edinburgh, T. and T. Clark, 1889).

had doubted the authorship of the Fourth Gospel, and references to the Holy Spirit were suspiciously lacking."[1] It was for supporting some of the results of Biblical Criticism that both Dods and Bruce were called before the Assembly's College Committee in 1890.

By 1892, Bruce was not only upholding some of the findings of Biblical Criticism, but was also using them to support his own viewpoints. This was most clearly done in his Apologetics.[2]

> "Bruce was concerned throughout with the Christian faith as a revelation of God made in history and authoritatively recorded in the Bible. In all this the person of Christ is the focal point. Baur and Strauss, though still named, appear dated and belong to the past. Bruce was now more concerned with Pfleiderer and the argument that the simple ethical teaching of Jesus had been perverted by Paul into a theological system akin to mystery religions."[3]

"Bruce had mastered New Testament Criticism and used it frankly in defence of the faith."[4]

Even though both Dods and Bruce were using the insights of the critics to support their views, the scandal of their work had yet to disappear. In a private letter written to Dods shortly after his Apologetics was published, Bruce wrote:

> "Do you hear anything as to MacAskill's attack? I do not know what the Col. Com. [College Committee] will do, but I know what I myself will do. I will not offer any

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[1]Drummond and Bulloch, The Church in Late Victorian Scotland, p. 265.

[2]A. B. Bruce, Apologetics; or Christianity Defensively Stated (Edinburgh, T. and T. Clark, 1892).

[3]Drummond and Bulloch, The Church in Late Victorian Scotland, p. 262.

[4]Ibid.

> defense but leave the book to speak for itself. Mr. MacAskill has raised a question of confidence and as a question of confidence it must be dealt with. If I am to be found fault with for the teaching in that book, then I must retire from my office."[1]

In some ways, Bruce and Dods were somewhat ahead of the Free Church as a whole body in their support and usage of Biblical Criticism. Although they were not called before the Assembly again, others were. In 1895, Henry Drummond's The Ascent of Man brought twelve overtures from Highland presbyteries, but he was vindicated in the Assembly.[2] Even in the Church of Scotland, critical studies were not given a free hand. Alexander Robinson, who wrote The Saviour in the Newer Light, did not fare as well as Drummond.[3] At the General Assembly of 1896, he was told to withdraw his book from sale, and he was then suspended from the ministry for a full year.[4] Finally, in 1902, the Free Assembly made it clear that it was not prepared to inhibit the inquiries of the new critical scholarship.[5] This was accomplished when it did not begin proceedings against George Adam Smith after the publication of his Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the Old Testament.[6] By the turn of the century, the criticism of the Bible had found a home in the scholarship of the Free Church.

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[1]This letter is contained in the Baillie Collection's copy of Bruce's Apologetics and is dated 6th February, 1893.

[2]Drummond and Bulloch, The Church in Late Victorian Scotland, pp. 285-286.

[3]Alexander Robinson, The Saviour in the Newer Light (Edinburgh, William Blackwood and Sons, 1895).

[4]Drummond and Bulloch, The Church in Late Victorian Scotland, p. 287.

[5]Reardon, Coleridge to Gore, p. 415.

[6]George Adam Smith, Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the Old Testament (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1900).

The Rising Liberalism

During the time period from 1881 to the turn of the century one can perceive a transition in progress. The dogmatic Calvinism of the Disruption was fading. Biblical Criticism was slowly, but surely, being accepted and practised. "We live in a different world," wrote Bruce, "and, whether believers or unbelievers, find ourselves related to a greatly altered environment. Science has made a mighty advance, new philosophies have arisen, biblical criticism has been at work, the religions of mankind have been studied on the comparative method."[1] "Germany, like Britain, was opulent, dominant, and full of optimism, a land of apparent social and political stability."[2] All this together led to a certain liberality of mind.

Within the divinity halls, German liberal theology grew in popularity until its height shortly before the Great War. As one author has it:

> "If a Scottish divinity student of the time understood his teachers and read what he was told to read - which did not always happen - he was bound to acquire some knowledge of German Theology. F. C. Baur was reputed to haunt the Biblical Criticism classroom but rarely materialized except for that minority disposed to see ghosts. Instead the influence of Ritschl and Harnack was strong, commending practical religion and disparaging doctrine, finding the essence of the Gospel in the teaching of 'the Jesus of history' on the Fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, and the Kingdom of God in terms of the Sermon on the Mount."[3]

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[1] A. B. Bruce, Apologetics, p. 30.

[2] Drummond and Bulloch, The Church in Late Victorian Scotland, p. 283.

[3] Ibid., p. 290.

This growing influence of German liberal theology can be discovered in the works of Bruce[1] and is also noted by James Orr.[2] Within this time period, the thought of Albrecht Ritschl appears to have made quite an impression, both positively and negatively, in Scotland.[3]

As regards his view of the Bible, Ritschl claimed that the Holy Scriptures, especially the New Testament, held supreme value for the Christian faith.[4] As one commentator has it:

> "With all the fathers of the Reformed Church, Ritschl taught that this Word of God is to be found in Scripture only. The New Testament in particular, he added, is our supreme source of truth because its writings spring from a living connection with the primitive age of the Church and reveal a unity of vital tissue with the faith of the Old Testament."[5]

In addition, Ritschl further postulated that Christian doctrine should be drawn only from the Holy Scriptures.[6] Whether or not he consistently followed his own criteria was the object of some discussion.[7]

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[1]John Kenneth Mozley, Some Tendencies in British Theology; From the Publication of Lux Mundi to the Present Day (London, S. P. C. K., 1951), pp. 108-113.

[2]James Orr, The Ritschlian Theology and the Evangelical Faith (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1897), pp. 1-2.

[3]Drummond and Bulloch, The Church in Late Victorian Scotland, pp. 277-280.

[4]Alfred E. Garvie, The Ritschlian Theology; Critical and Constructive; An Exposition and an Estimate (Edinburgh, T. and T. Clark, 1899), p. 211.

[5]Hugh Ross Mackintosh, Types of Modern Theology; Schleiermacher to Barth (London, Nisbet and Co., 1937), p. 147.

[6]Alfred E. Garvie, The Ritschlian Theology, p. 212.

[7]Ibid., pp. 213-214. Garvie writes that "Ritschl accords to the apostles a very much limited authority, and freely claims the right to differ from them." Also, he writes that "Ritschl's exegetical method is often very arbitrary."

One particular aspect of Ritschl's thought that had an impact in Scotland was his understanding of the Kingdom of God.[1] As one source explains his concept:

> "Closely related to this tendency to make ethical values the first interest of faith is Ritschl's predominantly moral view of what the New Testament means by the 'Kingdom of God.' The Kingdom for him becomes pretty much equivalent to 'the moral unification of the human race, through action prompted by universal love to one's neighbour.'"[2]

The Kingdom of God is at the same time the highest purpose of the Father and man's greatest good.[3] "Ritschl's ethical interpretation of the Gospel found its way not merely into preaching but into the minds of those on the skirts of the Church. It created a widespread popular conviction that Jesus had taught the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man and a better way of life which was steadily advancing."[4]

One of Ritschl's followers, Adolf Harnack, also appears to have been quite influential in the Scottish divinity classrooms. As regards his influence, one historian writes:

> "Until the rise of Karl Barth between the two world wars he (Harnack) dominated the theological world. His critical tenets, like those of Ritschl, were much nearer the traditional ones than those of critics half a century earlier, but it was not so for his theological liberalism. Many who did

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[1]Drummond and Bulloch, The Church in Late Victorian Scotland, pp. 278-279. The use of the Kingdom of God as a central category by which to comprehend the preaching of Jesus is found in A. B. Bruce's, The Kingdom of God, p. 41ff.

[2]Mackintosh, Types of Modern Theology, p. 151.

[3]Ibid., p. 158.

[4]Drummond and Bulloch, The Church in Late Victorian Scotland, p. 279.

not know his name retailed his concepts, and his shadow fell across all the theological classrooms of Scotland."[1]

In many ways, Harnack was even more popular in Scotland than Ritschl because he had a greater appeal to the laity.[2] His book, What Is Christianity, was first published in English in 1901 and drew widespread attention.[3]

According to Harnack, religion was a practical affair and, like Ritschl, he puts forward a certain disdain for dogma.[4] He saw the rise of dogma throughout history as a perversion of the true essence of Christianity. "The perversion seems to have begun in apostolic times when the early preachers, instead of repeating the preaching of Jesus concerning the Kingdom of God and instead of reporting the historical events of his life, began to preach about the significance of his person and introduced such ideas as pre-existence."[5] The dogmas of the early Church were understood by Harnack as an accommodation to the Hellenistic world.[6]

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[1]Ibid., pp. 280-281.

[2]Ibid., p. 281.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Macquarrie, Twentieth Century Religious Thought, p. 88. Dogma is here defined as "propositions which were supposed to express the content of the Christian religion, and acknowledgement of which was required from members of the Church as the condition of their participation in the blessedness offered by their religion."

[5]Ibid.

[6]Ibid.

In order to rectify this perversion, "Harnack tries to penetrate back through the theological accretions of the centuries to the concrete Jesus of history and his Gospel. Harnack believed that we can still get from the New Testament a sufficiently plain account of Christ's teaching and of his life as issuing in the service of his vocation."[1]

In his book, What Is Christianity, he put forth that if one took a general view of Jesus' teaching then one could group all his teachings under any one of three headings.[2] These headings were considered to be: (1) the Kingdom of God and its coming; (2) God the Father and the infinite value of the human soul; (3) the higher righteousness and the commandment to love.[3] His exposition of these three headings has a strong ethical nature, and Jesus is portrayed as a religious genius and primarily an ethical teacher.

In some ways, one needs to admire the bold attempt of Harnack to shift the primary concern of the Christian faith away from Christology and to focus it upon the Fatherhood of God. In his estimate, the Gospel had to do not with the Son but with the Father. The Gospel was the original teaching of Jesus, and its elements were "the Fatherhood of God," "the infinite worth of the human soul," and "the ethical ideal of the Kingdom of God."[4] The teaching of Jesus and his life "fulfill the

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[1]Ibid., p. 89.

[2]Adolf Harnack, What Is Christianity, trans. by Thomas Bailey Saunders (London, Williams and Norgate, 3rd and revised ed., 1904), p. 52.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Macquarrie, Twentieth Century Religious Thought, p. 89.

highest aspirations of our moral consciousness and so we are convinced of the truth of his message."[1]

In Harnack's understanding, "speculation on the ultimate problems gives us today as uncertain an answer as it did two thousand years ago."[2] "Yet if with a steady will we affirm the forces and the standards which on the summits of our inner life shine out as our highest good, nay, as our real self; if we are earnest and courageous enough to accept them as the great Reality and direct our lives by them; and if we then look at the course of mankind's history, follow its upward development, and search, in strenuous and patient service, for the communion of minds in it, we shall not faint in weariness and despair, but become certain of God, of the God whom Jesus Christ called his Father, and who is also our Father."[3]

Even though the thought of Ritschl and his followers, especially Harnack, had a large impact in Scotland and was widely discussed in the divinity classrooms, there were some prominent Scottish theologians who did not concur. Men like James Orr and James Denney were highly critical of German liberal theology and particularly Ritschlianism.[4] It is to their reaction that we now turn.

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[1]Ibid.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Harnack, What Is Christianity, p. 306.

[4]Mozley, Some Tendencies in British Theology, p. 133.

The Conservative Reaction

Although Ritschl and his followers were certainly popular in Scottish divinity classrooms, their theological perspectives did not go unscathed. As a general rule, in this period the Scottish theologians and Biblical scholars were perhaps not as creative as their German counterparts, but one must also notice that the Scots were not given to the excesses found in Germany. This is true of the discussions involving Ritschlianism, especially from those who adhered to more conservative and evangelical viewpoints. Two of the most able conservative critics both held chairs at the Free Church College in Glasgow. These men were James Orr and James Denney.[1]

In 1897, James Orr wrote that "Ritschl himself only passed from the scene in 1889, yet already his disciples hold chairs in all the leading universities in Germany, and the ideas, and still more the spirit, of his teaching are recognized as the reigning influences in Continental theology, and are rapidly penetrating theological thought in Britain and America as well."[2] It is for this reason that Orr wished to present a more satisfactory account of this movement as it related to what he called the "Evangelical Faith."[3]

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[1]Both at The Glasgow College, James Orr was Professor of Apologetics and Systematic Theology from 1900-1913, and James Denney was Professor of Systematic Theology from 1897-1917. Prior to 1900, The Glasgow College was known as the Free Church College, Glasgow.

[2]Orr, The Ritschlian Theology and the Evangelical Faith, pp. 1-2.

[3]Ibid., p. 2.

One of the major critiques that Orr puts forward regards Ritschl's use of the Scriptures. He writes:

> "Ritschl exalts the New Testament Scriptures to the rank of primary witnesses to that primitive Christianity to which it is the boast of his theology to lead us back; but it must not be supposed that, on this account, he holds himself bound to accept in any single article, what they teach."[1]

According to Orr's way of thinking, the books of Scripture "are given up to the freest treatment of criticism."[2] Orr, like A. E. Garvie, finds that Ritschl's exegetical method is often very arbitrary.

Orr supports this contention by claiming that Ritschl simply disregards certain elements of the primitive faith. He writes:

> "Those elements of the primitive faith which do not harmonize with the postulates of the system, or are thought unsuitable to modern requirements, are put aside as of no permanent importance. The Apostolic teaching on the Person of Christ, for instance - on His pre-existence, His divine nature, His future advent - is in this way dismissed as unessential; the Logos doctrine of the Fourth Gospel is frankly surrendered in the interests, it is said, of faith itself; the Pauline view on the law, sin, death, etc., are criticized, modified, or rejected at pleasure."[3]

Essentially, Orr could not concur with Ritschl's hermeneutic regarding the greater importance given to the teachings of Jesus over and above those teachings about Jesus.

He also notes that "the Gospels are stripped of their miracles, and the Virgin-birth, and the resurrection of Jesus from the tomb, are denied,

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[1] Ibid., pp. 98-99.

[2] Ibid., p. 99.

[3] Ibid., pp. 99-100.

or set aside as unessential; the greatest freedom is used in accepting or rejecting the recorded discourses of Jesus."[1] Also in this vein, Orr claims that the Gospel which Ritschl and his followers derive from Scripture is "an expurgated Gospel - a Gospel divested, in deference to the modern spirit, of its supernatural accompaniments, and transformed into a pattern fashioned according to their own presuppositions."[2] With these arguments made clear, Orr states categorically that the "Scriptures, whatever place of honour may be assigned to them, are in no sense a "rule of faith" to Ritschl and his school."[3]

Essentially, Orr's view of the Bible was much more conservative than that of Ritschl. Unlike Ritschl, Orr comes very near to a doctrine of Biblical inerrancy.[4] "It is true that in Revelation and Inspiration (1910) he will not defend the view that "the ipsissima verba of the original autographs" are free from the slightest taint of error, but his sympathies and emphases point clearly in the direction of a position that is not far removed from it."[5] Because of this position, Orr could not accept Ritschl's hermeneutic that rendered certain parts of the Biblical witness of more critical importance than other parts.[6]

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[1] Ibid., p. 99.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Mozley, Some Tendencies in British Theology, p. 127.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Orr, The Ritschlian Theology and the Evangelical Faith, pp. 95-98.

In Orr's view, the reason for this is because the Bible is inspired. Although he rejects "the mechanical theory of inspiration,"[1] he does affirm that in order to make an adequate record of revelation, a divinely given insight must have been given into that revelation which is to be recorded.[2] For him, the Bible possesses "a spiritual quality, force, illumination, in the record itself, emanating, as it could only do, from a special presence of the Holy Spirit, equipping and qualifying the sacred writers for the special task."[3] Although there is no "suppression of human genius, faculty, or individuality" in divine inspiration,[4] Orr still maintains that the Bible "exhibits spiritual qualities and powers which are traceable only to a direct Divine inspiration."[5]

Because Orr maintained this particularly conservative understanding of the Bible, he could not agree with the way in which Ritschl and followers interpreted certain parts of Scripture. Since they stressed the teachings of Jesus over and above the teachings about Him, since they played down the importance of metaphysical speculations and the elements of the supernatural found in the Biblical witness, and since they argued that the dogmas of the early Church were a significant departure from the simple

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[1]James Orr, Revelation and Inspiration (London, Duckworth and Co., 1910), p. 210.

[2]James Orr, The Faith of a Modern Christian (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1910), pp. 15-16.

[3]Ibid., p. 15.

[4]Ibid., p. 16.

[5]Ibid., p. 5.

Gospel which Jesus taught, Orr maintained that their approach to the Scriptures was too biased by their presuppositions to accurately reflect its full truth.

Like Orr, James Denney was also critical of Ritschlian theology.[1] Somewhat less conservative in his viewpoints than Orr,[2] Denney represents the response of the most thoughtful and committed section of the Church to the German theologians. He had learned much from Ritschl while, elsewhere, rejecting him squarely. Denney took his stand on the historicity of the New Testament, the centrality of Christ for faith, and the forgiveness of God in His atoning death."[3] It is from these vantage points that he criticizes Ritschlian theology.

In April of 1894, Denney delivered a series of lectures at the Chicago Theological Seminary.[4] Herein, he acknowledges that Ritschl was "by far the most influential, most interesting, and in some ways most inspiring, of modern theologians."[5] Even so, there were many points at which he could not agree with Ritschl and his followers, i.e. their rejection of metaphysics,[6] their treatment of the supernatural,[7] and their

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[1]Mozley, Some Tendencies in British Theology, p. 133.

[2]Ibid., p. 130 and pp. 135-136.

[3]Drummond and Bulloch, The Church in Late Victorian Scotland, p. 296.

[4]James Denney, Studies in Theology (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1894).

[5]Ibid., p. 2.

[6]Ibid., pp. 2-8.

[7]Ibid., pp. 8-13.

understanding of the divinity of Christ.[1] In many ways, Denney's lectures "read like a commentary on Ritschl, sometimes by name and sometimes not."[2]

In his ninth lecture, Denney discusses the nature and authority of the Bible. He writes:

> "The Bible is, in the first instance, a means of grace; it is the means through which God communicates with man, making him know what is in His heart toward him. It must be known and experienced in this character before we can form a doctrine concerning it."[3]

Accordingly, he was convinced that as one used the Scriptures without any presuppositions at all that one would discover its power and authority.[4] He posited that this was "the only rational and experimental way of teaching and stating the truth."[5]

To support this view of Scripture, he quotes the words of W. Robertson Smith.

> "'If,' said Professor Robertson Smith, 'I am asked why I receive Scripture as the word of God, and as the only perfect rule of faith and life, I answer with all the fathers of the Protestant Church, because the Bible is the only record of the redeeming love of God, because in the Bible alone I find God drawing near to man in Christ Jesus, and declaring to us in Him His will for our salvation. And this record I know to be true by the witness of His Spirit in my heart, whereby I am assured that none other than God Himself is able to speak such words to my soul."[6]

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[1]Ibid., pp. 13-17.

[2]Drummond and Bulloch, The Church in Late Victorian Scotland, p. 293.

[3]Denney, Studies in Theology, pp. 202-203.

[4]Ibid., p. 204.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Ibid., pp. 204-205.

For Denney, this understanding of Scripture was "not only true, but self-evident and unassailable."[1]

He then goes on to admit that the only problem with this view of Scripture is that it is so easily misapplied. "It is really a doctrine of the word of God, or of the divine message to man; but it is too apt to be construed as if it were a doctrine of the text of Scripture. It has been used to cover not only certain assumed qualities of Scripture as we have it, but certain alleged qualities of an "original autograph" of Scripture which no one knows anything about."[2] At this point, one begins to realize that Denney does not concur with the fundamentalist concept of Scripture held by men like B. B. Warfield and Charles Hodge.[3] From here, he spends the rest of his lecture relating his conception of Scripture "to the problems and results of criticism."[4]

As regards the gospels, Denney maintained that the evangelists could have made "mistakes in dates, in the order of events, in reporting the occasion of a word of Jesus, possibly in the application of a parable."[5] Furthermore, a critic might discern "an incipient formalism of the second

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[1]Ibid., p. 205.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Later on in this lecture he makes this more obvious. See Ibid., pp. 206-207 and 217-219. Also, see Drummond and Bulloch, The Church in Late Victorian Scotland, p. 292.

[4]Ibid., p. 205.

[5]Ibid., p. 208.

generation" as in Luke, or he might distinguish various levels of the oral gospel which came before the written gospels, or he might feel more confident on historical grounds "of details contained in the Apostolic Source as Weiss has extracted it from Matthew and Luke."[1] Herein lies the appropriate task of gospel criticism.

Immediately after stating this, Denney went on to say:

> "We may differ - Christian men do differ - about numberless questions of this kind; but we ought to be able to say boldly that though all these be left out of view, nay, even though in any number of cases of this kind the gospels should be proved in error, the gospel is untouched; the word of God, the revelation of God to the soul in Christ, attested by the Spirit, lives and abides. Revelation is ultimately personal, as personal as faith. It is to Christ we give our trust, and as long as the gospels make us sure of what He is, they serve God's purpose and our need."[2]

For him, the gospels may not be accurate in every detail, but they do clearly reveal the essential character, ministry, and mission of Christ.[3] Furthermore, it is the witness of the Spirit by and with the word of the evangelists that enables the believer "not only de facto but de jure, to take the life of Christ recorded in the gospels as a real historical life."[4]

It is obvious from this series of lectures and from his other works that Denney was confident of the historical reliability of the New

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[1] Ibid. , p. 208

[2] Ibid., p. 209.

[3] Ibid., pp. 206-207.

[4] Ibid., p. 207

Testament. Although the authors may have erred in regard to details, it was his view that they did not err in the essentials. Furthermore, he did not stress the elements in the New Testament that divided it like, for instance, the characteristic distinctiveness of the various authors. He attempted throughout to discover the coherence which underlies these differences. In his way of thinking, this unity in the New Testament was far greater and more important than any of its divisions.

As regards this unity, Denney wrote, "No one, it will be admitted, can deny that the New Testament has variety as well as unity. It is the variety which gives interest to the unity. The reality and power of the unity are in exact proportion to the variety; we feel how potent the unity must be which can hold all this variety together in the energies of a common life. The question raised by every demonstration of the undeniable differences which characterize the New Testament is, What is the vital force which triumphs over them all? ... There can be no doubt that that which unites them is a common relation to Christ - a common faith in Him involving common religious convictions about Him."[1] It is based upon this "common faith" and these "common religious convictions" that Denney develops his theology.

It was for these reasons that Denney could not accept Ritschl's interpretation of the resurrection[2] nor Harnack's disdain for apostolic theology.[3] Furthermore, Denney put forward the conviction that all that

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[1]James Denney, Jesus and the Gospels; Christianity Justified in the Mind of Christ (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1908), pp. 11-12.

[2]Denney, Studies in Theology, p. 220.

[3]Ibid., pp. 219-224.

was later said about Christ was consistent with what He had said about Himself. This is the basic thesis of his works, Jesus and the Gospels and The Death of Christ.[1] Because of this contention he could not accept the Ritschlian school's understanding that the gospel Jesus taught was only about the Fatherhood of God.[2] For him, there was no "justification for lightening the ship of the church by casting Christological controversy overboard."[3]

Although Denney finds many places to criticize "the school of Ritschl," he also recognized its "great influence" in Scotland and its importance.[4] He noted that its "devotion to the ethico-historical line of interpretation has brought undoubted gains with it: it has restored to the consciousness of many Christian people a great deal that traditional orthodoxy was at least in danger of losing."[5] His basic approach was to attempt to appropriate from the Ritschlian school all that it had won "without letting go of our hold on those still deeper and greater things which it either ignores or denies."[6]

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[1]James Denney, The Death of Christ; Its Place and Interpretation in the New Testament (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1902).

[2]Ibid., pp. 319-320.

[3]Ibid., p. 320.

[4]James Denney, Studies in Theology, p. 145.

[5]Ibid., p. 146.

[6]Ibid.

Liberal Evangelicalism

It is evident from the information discussed so far that during this period from 1881 to 1914, traditional Scots Calvinism was fading because of the ever-increasing influence of Biblical Criticism and Liberal Theology. As it became less influential, a new theological perspective began to take shape. A. C. Cheyne calls it "Liberal Evangelicalism." The label itself is a good one and expresses what would become one of the predominant theological viewpoints within Scottish academic circles of this time. As one would expect, this viewpoint was subsequently passed along to many of the preachers who attended Divinity College during the heights of its popularity. Since many of the Warrack lecturers were influenced by it and others were sincere advocates, a brief synopsis of A. C. Cheyne's thoughts on the matter would be illuminating.

According to Cheyne's estimate of the situation, he asserts that Liberal Evangelicalism became "the dominating influence during the decades immediately before and after the First World War."[1] As he writes:

> "The attitudes and convictions of Davidson and Robertson Smith, of A. B. Bruce, Marcus Dods and George Adam Smith had entrenched themselves strongly in the academic world, and by 1914 they were shared to an impressive degree by most of Scotland's theological teachers. But the pulpits also had been taken captive. Down to and even beyond the mid-point of the century, therefore, a host of able and influential preachers ... proclaimed a faith which owed a good deal more to the insights of Biblical criticism, literary and historical, and to the world-view shared by teachers as diverse as John Tulloch, Robert Rainy and Robert Flint, than to the traditional formulations of orthodox Calvinism."[2]

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[1] A. C. Cheyne, The Transforming of the Kirk, p. 194.

[2] Ibid.

He counts within this noble troupe W. M. MacGregor in the earlier period, and R. E. McIntyre, George Johnstone Jeffrey, Ernest Jarvis, James S. Stewart, and Murdo Ewen MacDonald in recent times.[1]

Now, just what were the distinguishing characteristics of this emerging Liberal Evangelicalism? According to Cheyne, there are three. First was "a deference to the methods and findings of natural science."[2] He argued that Liberal Evangelicals "never tired of affirming their belief that the discoveries of biology, chemistry and physics, if properly understood, would only reinforce the Christian interpretation of the universe; and few if any of them were inclined to repudiate the main principles of evolutionary theory."[3]

This can certainly be seen in the works of Professor Henry Drummond. His outright approval of the scientific method and the theory of Evolution permeates his works.[4] In an article written for The Expositor, he argues that the scientific method and the theory of Evolution as propounded by Darwin and Spencer were the most important contributions of natural science to Christianity.[5] As he concludes, "when theology has received its full

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[1]Ibid., p. 194.

[2]Ibid., p. 200.

[3]Ibid.

[4]See Henry Drummond, Natural Law in the Spiritual World (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1883), and The Lowell Lectures on the Ascent of Man (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1897).

[5]Henry Drummond, "The Contribution of Science to Christianity," in The Expositor, 3rd Series, Vol. I, [Part I], January, 1885, pp. 28-45, and [Part II], February, 1885, pp. 102-111.

contribution from natural science, it will be able to present to the world a scientific account of its greatest fact."[1] Natural science was not to be seen as the enemy of revealed religion but as its ally and greatest advocate.

According to his view, Drummond posits that "the supreme contribution of Evolution to Religion is that it has given it a clearer Bible."[2] The revelation of God found recorded in the Scriptures is progressively given to each era as was appropriate to the times and needs of mankind. Therefore, he referred to the "Bible in two forms." "The one is the Bible as it was presented to our forefathers; the other is the Bible of modern theology. The books, the chapters, the verses, and the words are the same in each; yet in form they are two entirely different Bibles. To science the difference is immediately palpable.... The one represents revelation as having been produced on the creative hypothesis, the Divine-fiat hypothesis, the ready-made hypothesis; the other on the slow-growth or evolution theory. It is at once obvious which of them science would prefer - it could no more accept the first than it would accept the ready-made theory of the universe."[3] To understand the Bible clearly was to see it in terms of the gradual growth of mankind and the progressive revelation of God.

Drummond goes on to concur with the changes taking place within the realm of the natural sciences and connects them to parallel changes within Biblical interpretation. As he notes:

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[1]Ibid., p. 102.

[2]Ibid., p. 105.

[3]Ibid., p. 104.

> "Nothing could be more important than to assure science that the same difficulty has for some time been felt, and with equal keenness, by theology. The scientific method in its hand, scientific theology has been laboriously working at a reconstruction of Biblical truth from this very viewpoint of development. And it no more pledges itself today to the interpretations of the Bible of a thousand years ago, than does science to the interpretations of nature in the time of Pythagoras...."[1]

These particular viewpoints of gradual growth and progressive revelation would have a profound impact on traditionally held views of the doctrines of Creation, of Sin and the Fall, of Man, and of Revelation during this period.

The second of these distinguishing characteristics Cheyne labels "wariness of all credal and confessional statements."[2] He goes on to give suitable evidence,[3] but probably the clearest and most conclusive is the changes in adherence required of those ordained to the church's confessional formula. Enforced subscription was found to be increasingly difficult to tolerate until the Free Church passed The Declaratory Act of 1892 and the Established Church, its Act on the Formula of 1910.[4]

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[1]Ibid., pp. 104-105.

[2]A. C. Cheyne, The Transforming of the Kirk, p. 200.

[3]Ibid., pp. 200-204.

[4]See the relevant portions of James T. Cox and J. B. Longmuir, Practice and Procedure in The Church of Scotland (Edinburgh, Blackwood and Sons, [5th edition], 1964), pp. 410-413. It is important to note that the Free Church in its Declaratory Act concluded that the Church and Confession do not teach "the foreordination of men to death irrespective of their own sin" and "the corruption of man's whole nature as fallen."

As a resultant, neither body was any longer bound with the former stringency to the Westminster Confession.[1]

Whether this change in subscription can be attributed to the growing influence of Biblical Criticism and Liberal Theology or whether it was one which helped to further heighten their impact, it was nonetheless a noticeable milestone. The former dogmatisms derived from the Westminster Confession were, very much so, the underpinning theological framework of traditional Scots Calvinism. Some of these dogmatisms would be gradually modified or replaced by those who advocated Liberal Evangelicalism. For instance, Predestination as previously understood would be slowly replaced by the concept of Divine Fatherhood;[2] faith would no longer be primarily an intellectual assent to a given set of doctrines but more a matter of the heart;[3] and Election as previously conceived would give way to that of Free Grace in which the love and grace of God were open to all. Although the Westminster Confession was by no means abandoned, a way had now been opened to modify or replace some of its formerly held, extreme dogmatisms.

The third of these distinguishing characteristics Cheyne claims was "devotion to the use of literary and historical criticism in the study of the Bible."[4] As he sees it:

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[1]For a fuller accounting, see Drummond and Bulloch, The Church in Late Victorian Scotland, pp. 262-273.

[2]A. C. Cheyne, The Transforming of the Kirk, p. 201.

[3]Ibid., p. 202.

Ibid., p. 200.

> "By 1900, scholars could talk with some confidence about the "assured results" of literary and historical criticism of the sacred books. Interested laymen were becoming familiar with scholarly theories concerning the non-Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, the non-Davidic authorship of many of the Psalms, and the non-apostolic authorship of the Gospels."[1]

"In theological colleges and divinity faculties an evolutionary account of Israel's religion was becoming the rule rather than the exception. Preachers as well as professors were beginning to abandon the literal interpretation of many a Biblical narrative. Open acknowledgement of a diversity of attitudes among the New Testament writers was being more and more frequently made. The so-called 'Quest of the Historical Jesus' had come to be as eagerly pursued in Scotland as elsewhere."[2] Each of these represents a radical departure from the literal inerrancy espoused within traditional Scots Calvinism.

As evidence of their devotion to these new forms of criticism, Cheyne simply notes a goodly number of scholars who used them and the numerous publications in which they were employed.[3] As he reasons:

> "By the outbreak of war in 1914, Scottish writers had built up an impressive body of literature in this whole field: commentaries, scholarly or popular, on every book of the Bible; translation of foreign classics, often in series bearing the imprint of T. and T. Clark; several world-famous dictionaries and encyclopaedias under the editorship of the indefatigable James Hastings ... and the first instalment of James Moffatt's pioneering translation of the entire Bible into modern English...."[4]

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[1] Ibid., p. 205.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid. He includes among them George Adam Smith and Adam C. Welch in Old Testament studies and Marcus Dods, James Denney, H. A. A. Kennedy, and James Moffatt in New Testament Studies.

[4] Ibid.

Instead of creating exegesis from dogmatic, as A. B. Davidson once complained, Scottish Biblical scholars and theologians were now employing literary and historical criticism with a great deal of enthusiasm.

Generally speaking, the sermons of representative Liberal Evangelicals would possess certain qualities. They would "put considerable emphasis on social as well as individual righteousness, and were above all concerned to commend the Gospel in terms which their contemporaries could understand."[1] One would notice an "anti-dogmatism reacting against the neat but sometimes cold system of scholastic Calvinism."[2] Their style would be practical as opposed to the doctrinal disputational style of their predecessors.[3] The love of God would be more emphasized than his righteousness.[4] For them, the Scriptures were both human and divine. Therefore, the literary and historical background was of significance.[5] Reoccuring themes would include the Fatherhood of God and the realization of His Kingdom.[6] "Preaching came to be associated with religion not theology."[7] In many ways, these became characteristic of the typical Liberal Evangelical sermon.

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[1]Ibid., p. 194.

[2]W. G. Enright, "Preaching and Theology in Scotland in the Nineteenth Century: A Study of the Context and the Content of the Evangelical Sermon" (Edinburgh, University of Edinburgh Ph. D. Dissertation, 1968), p. vii.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Ibid., pp. 340-342.

[6]Ibid., pp. 355-383.

[7]Ibid., p. viii.

Although Liberal Evangelicalism would continue as a theological perspective, it would lose some of its former enthusiasm after the Great War. As Cheyne sees it:

> "In the aftermath of the First World War, Liberal Evangelicalism continued as a living tradition, though probably with rather less of its former exuberance and productivity. But as the twenties gave way to the thirties, and the storm-clouds of an even more terrible conflict began to darken the sky, new influences from the Continent of Europe gradually transformed the theological scene."[1]

"In particular, churchmen became acquainted with the names of Karl Barth and Emil Brunner, and with what has at different times been called "the Theology of Crisis," "the Dialectical Theology," and "the Theology of the Word of God." They were thereby introduced to a temper and attitude very different from that which had prevailed among them for something like half a century."[2] It is to the effects of that new theological perspective that we turn in Chapter Five.

Summation

Within this time period form 1881 to the outset of the Great War, the modes of interpreting the Bible within the academic scholarship of the Free Church had changed considerably. The understanding of the nature of the Bible and the ways of interpreting it associated with the dogmatic Calvinism of the Disruption were fading. By the end of Smith's trial, a major turning-point had been reached. The critical study of the Bible

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[1] A. C. Cheyne, The Transforming of the Kirk, p. 207.

[2] Ibid.

had established its right to be taught in Free Church Colleges. Because of the public nature of Smith's trial, large questions about the nature, authority, and interpretation of the Scriptures were raised which could no longer be suppressed or ignored.

These large questions were taken up by men like A. B. Bruce and Marcus Dods. By looking at their works in historical progression, one can perceive how Biblical Criticism, especially as it was being practised in Germany, became of greater interest and importance. In the early 1880s, these men began to exhibit in their works an increasing regard for the views of the critics. By the late 1880s, both were making use of the critics to support their own more critical viewpoints. Through the 1890s, Bruce went even further by actually supporting some of the critics' viewpoints. Although both Bruce and Dods were called before the General Assembly, they were not condemned. In many ways, both of these men lead the way in establishing the critical interpretation of the Bible within the scholarship of the Free Church. By the turn of the century, Biblical Criticism had found a home in the Free Church Colleges.

During the late 1880s until the height of its influence shortly before the Great War, the critical work of Ritschl and his followers had a strong impact in Scotland. Because of the inability of traditional orthodoxy to stand up to the challenges from Biblical Criticism, science, and culture, Ritschlian theology had much to offer even to the scholars of the Free Church. Men like A. B. Bruce were steadily moving toward

and accepting the insights of Ritschl and his followers.[1] From the more conservative side, others like James Orr and James Denney were highly critical, but even they were willing to admit its importance.

Arising out from the influences and the developments within this period, a new theological perspective began to take shape. It is well labeled "Liberal Evangelicalism," and it points to what would become one of the predominating theological viewpoints in the decades before and after the Great War. Its general characteristics would include "deference to the methods and findings of natural science, wariness of all credal and confessional statements, and devotion to the use of literary and historical criticism in the study of the Bible."[2] By the outset of the Great War, Scottish Biblical scholars and theologians had amassed a great wealth of works employing the tenets of this new theological perspective.

There were actually many other influences upon the Biblical scholarship of the Free Church which deserve more attention than is paid in this section. The fundamentalism of Charles Hodge and B. B. Warfield, the philosophy of religion put forward in the works of John and Edward Caird, the methods and results of the history of religions school, the advances in textual criticism found in the works of Westcott, Hort, and Lightfoot, the theological writings of W. R. Inge, R. W. Dale, and Benjamin Jowett, and the changes in culture; all these had an impact. Because of the nature of this study, these influences can only be mentioned.

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[1]Drummond and Bulloch, The Church in Late Victorian Scotland, p. 277. See also Reardon, From Coleridge to Gore, pp. 423-426.

[2]A. C. Cheyne, The Transforming of the Kirk, p. 200.

A few observations about this period, and then we shall move on. First, and foremost, was the influence of the Westminster Confession upon the interpretation of the Bible. Although the Free Church modified its adherence to the confession in its Declaratory Act of 1892, the doctors of the Church continued to use it. Since a way had now been opened to modify or replace some of its formerly held, extreme dogmatisms, they employed it as a kind of matrix of ideas and categories by which various interpretations of Biblical subject matter were to be evaluated. This theological grid yielded by the confession was used to test and criticize aspects of Ritschlian theology. This is especially evident in the works of Orr and Denney. Even though these men did not rigidly adhere to all parts of the confession, they continued to use it as a matrix by which to measure various interpretations of Biblical subject matter and various theological systems.

Secondly, in response to the questions posed by the new findings of science and Biblical Criticism, the doctors had to reconsider the nature of the Bible. Most rejected the idea that the Bible was a source of inerrant, propositional truths directly dictated by God to the authors of Scripture. Instead, the Bible came to be understood as a record of revelation. Even though its writers were inspired, they remained men. Therefore, the Scriptures could contain errors. Herein lay the proper task of Biblical Criticism. Even so, the Bible remained God's Word because through it God revealed His message in a personal encounter with the human soul. The nature of the Bible was no longer that of an objective set of divine truths, but a record and a witness through which God

encountered the human soul in a highly subjective and personal way. Although the various doctors of the Church interpreted this construct in various ways, the understanding of the nature of the Bible had changed significantly as the Calvinism of the Disruption faded.

Thirdly, much of the study of the New Testament during this period was dedicated toward assessing the findings of the critics. The questions of authorship, canonicity, dates, authenticity, and other concerns along these same lines were causing considerable impact. Here again, a wide range of answers were given, but the accepted viewpoints of traditional orthodoxy were quickly disappearing as various critical hypotheses were gaining credibility. For instance, the beliefs that Moses wrote Deuteronomy and that Matthew was the first of the Gospels were dismissed by the results of Biblical Criticism. In many ways it was a time of experimenting with a new means by which to investigate the Bible.

Chapter Five

Developments in Biblical Interpretation Within Scottish Academic Scholarship Between the Wars

The purpose of this chapter will be to continue the task begun in Chapter Four. It will be to report and examine some of the developments within the field of Biblical interpretation found in Scottish academic scholarship. This survey will cover the time between the First and Second World Wars. Moreover, it will focus upon those developments which had a widespread impact and popular appeal and which are, therefore, particularly germane to this study.

Remembering that the aim at the end of this study is to correlate and analyze the developments found in the Warrack Lectureships with those discovered within Scottish academic scholarship, a specialized method of research was found to be necessary for this time between the wars. Since some of the Warrack Lecturers were attending divinity colleges during this period while others were already in their charges, this method needed to accomplish a twofold task. First and foremost, it had to be able to accurately determine relevant developments found within Scottish academic circles. Secondly, it also had to be able to reflect those developments which possessed the potential of having an impact upon preachers already in the field. In other words, it would have to be capable of determining the relevant developments within Scottish academic circles as well as those found there which could potentially have effected preachers already in their parishes.

In addition to this problem of method, another dilemma presented itself. It is unfortunate, but little work has been done upon the developments in Biblical interpretation found within Scottish academic scholarship during this time period. There are several reliable secondary sources, but their focus is upon world scholarship. They tend to be too general in orientation and not specific enough to be used as a foundation for this present study.

In order to resolve these problems, it was decided that a careful survey of The Expository Times from 1918 until 1940 would serve well to set the overall agenda for this chapter. This decision was made for several reasons. First, many of the contributors were Scottish academics who discussed their work in a capsulated form as well as giving their opinions on a wide range of current issues. Secondly, its readership was high within the manses of the land.[1] There were other periodicals circulating during this period, like The Evangelical Quarterly, but none as well suited to the task at hand.[2] Thirdly, it discussed developments in Biblical interpretation specific to the Scottish academic scene. Because of these reasons primarily, a survey of The Expository Times will be employed to set the overall agenda of this chapter.

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[1]The Expository Times was founded by The Rev. James Hastings in 1889 and continues to be published by T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh. Its readership is spread throughout the United Kingdom.

[2]See; F. F. Bruce, In Retrospect (London & Glasgow, Pickering & Inglis, 1980), pp. 184ff. There he says "The Evangelical Quarterly was launched in 1929 by two Professors in the Free Church College, Edinburgh, Donald Maclean and John R. Mackay, for the 'defence of the historic Christian faith'...." In 1942, Bruce tells us, ownership was transferred to the Inter-Varsity Fellowship who in 1954 became its publishers also. For our purposes here, The Evangelical Quarterly was thought to be of less importance because it aimed at a somewhat more specific readership than did The Expository Times.

This does not mean, however, that a careful look at relevant primary and secondary sources will be neglected. On the contrary, when it is deemed necessary to do so, both relevant primary and secondary resources will be consulted, but the overall framework, time-line, and agenda will be provided by the evidences found in The Expository Times. In this way, the survey will be enhanced but not directed by these primary and secondary sources.

Until the Rise of Karl Barth

Like many of the other secondary sources, A. M. Hunter cites the year of 1918 as a major turning point within the interpretation of the Bible. He writes:

> "If we had to single out a particular year for the beginning of this renascence, many of us would choose 'the apocalyptic year,' 1918 when Karl Barth published his commentary on the Romans and by so doing threw 'his bombshell into the playground of the theologians.'"[1]

This is simply not true of the English speaking world and especially not so in Scotland.

A careful reading of The Expository Times tells a much different story. The revolution in interpreting the Bible caused by the thought of Karl Barth did not begin until the 1930s. Although Barth's Der Romerbrief was first published in 1919,[2] it was not translated into

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[1]A. M. Hunter, Interpreting the New Testament 1900-1950 (London, SCM Press, 1951), pp. 124-125. See also, James D. Wood, The Interpretation of the Bible; A Historical Introduction (London, Duckworth and Co., 1958), p. 146.

[2]Thomas F. Torrance, Karl Barth: An Introduction to His Early Theology, 1910-1931 (London, SCM Press, 1962), p. 219.

English until 1933.[1] The only work published by Barth in English in the 1920s was The Word of God and the Word of Man,[2] and this work was reviewed positively, but it made little impact at the time.[3] Even though many of Scotland's Biblical scholars and theologians could have read Barth's works in their original language, it appears more likely that either they thought his work was not particularly significant or they simply chose to ignore it.

In point of fact, the man who introduced Barth to Scotland, H. R. Mackintosh, was at first somewhat critical.[4] In an article written in 1928, he remarks:

> "Barth himself is a preacher in temperment, and a preacher of immense force, whose thundering protest against utilitarian religion has carried far and wide. But he gives us disappointingly little help in thinking out of Christianity."[5]

Although Mackintosh is more generous in his critique of Barth than is Martin Rade whose book Mackintosh is reviewing,[6] he still appears somewhat skeptical about Barth's perspectives.

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[1]Ibid., p. 221.

[2]Karl Barth, The Word of God and the Word of Man, trans. by Douglas Horton (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1928).

[3]"Notes of Recent Exposition," in The Expository Times, Vol. 40, February 1929, pp. 242-244. Henceforth, The Expository Times will be abbreviated to simply E.T.

[4]Hugh Ross Mackintosh was Professor of Systematic Theology, New College, 1904-1936.

[5]"Recent Foreign Theology;" Varia, H. R. Mackintosh, in E.T., Vol. 39, March 1928, p. 262.

[6]Mackintosh is reviewing Martin Rade, "Vom Geist," in Glaubenslehre (Gotha, L. Klotz Verlag, 1927), Vol. 3.

Actually, in The Expository Times between 1918 and 1930, there was only one major article about Barth.[1] Here again, this article comes from the pen of H. R. Mackintosh. The tone of this article is very much introductory as he lists information about Barth's biography and the other members of the "Swiss School."[2] For the most part, the article assesses Barth's main contentions put forward in his commentary on Romans.[3] In concluding, he writes:

> "Barth is important and memorable, if not for his solutions, at least for the cardinal questions he compels us to encounter. And he does compel us."[4]

It is obvious from the combined evidence of the English translation dates and the lack of major articles that the impact of Barth's perspectives was yet to be had in Scottish academic circles.

What then can be said of academic Biblical scholarship in Scotland from the year of 1918 until 1930? It would be reasonable to say that this was a period of assessment in which the rapid developments occuring before the Great War were evaluated and criticized. Ritschlianism vis-a-vis the works of Harnack and Herrmann continued to create significant discussion. This can be seen by the numerous major articles written about their works

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[1] H. R. Mackintosh, "Leaders of Theological Thought - Karl Barth," in E.T., Vol. 39, September 1928, pp. 536-540.

[2] Ibid., p. 536.

[3] Ibid., pp. 537-540.

[4] Ibid., p. 540.

and perspectives.[1] Here, one needs to say that some of these were supportive and others critical.

The continuing influence of Ritschlianism is also found in John Baillie's The Interpretation of Religion.[2] As one reviewer writes:

> "In seeking to reach a true interpretation of religion, he first considers theories of religion with which he is out of sympathy. Such are, in particular, the rationalistic theory (as chiefly represented by Hegel), the romanticist theory (as chiefly represented by Schleiermacher), and the theory of theological intuitionism and the 'religious a priori' (as chiefly represented by Troeltsch and by Otto). As a result of his discussion of the above named theories he is left, as he thinks, with 'the sole alternative of believing that the kind of intelligent or rational insight in which religion takes its rise is none other than moral insight, and that faith in God is thus in some sort an outgrowth of our consciousness of value.' Accordingly he finds himself in sympathy with the theory of religion as grounded in the consciousness of value - a theory to which may be attached the names of Kant and Lotze among philosophers, and Ritschl and Herrmann (whom Professor Baillie calls his teacher in theology) among theologians."[3]

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[1] J. G. Tasker, "Herrmann of Marburg," in E.T., Vol. 34, April 1923, pp. 321-322. H. R. Mackintosh, "Theology at its Best," in E.T., Vol. 36, April 1925, pp. 326-328. (This is a highly praising review of Hermann's Dogmatik). John Douglas, "Implications of the Fatherhood of God," in E.T., Vol. 39, March 1928, pp. 275-281. (This is a pretty straightforward application of Harnack's construct). A. B. D. Alexander, "The Kingdom of God and the Ethic of Jesus," in E.T., Vol. 40, November 1928, pp. 73-77. (This is an attempt to combine both Wiess' eschatological understanding of the Kingdom of God with Harnack's more religio-ethical understanding). G. D. Henderson, "Adolf von Harnack," in E.T., Vol. 41, August 1930, pp. 487-491. And this is only to name a few.

[2] John Baillie, The Interpretation of Religion (Edinburgh, T. and T. Clark, 1929).

[3] "Theological First Principles," in E.T., Vol. 40, June 1929, p. 400.

Even though Baillie is at times critical of Ritschlianism, he does take many of its perspectives.[1]

Besides the continuing influence of Ritschlianism, the insights and perspectives of the History-of-Religions school kept arising in articles during this period. Essays or reviews on the work of Adolf Deissmann, Gustaf Dalman, and Herman Gunkel appear in almost every composite volume of this period.[2] In 1928, Deissmann is acclaimed as one of the leaders of theological thought. Although the articles are at times critical of their work, the overall necessity of placing the New Testament writings in their historical context is accepted and propagated.

In Scotland, the insights of the members of the History-of-Religions school were being criticized and propagated by Professor H. A. A. Kennedy

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[1]John Baillie was Professor of Divinity, University of Edinburgh, 1934-1956.

[2]The following is only a partial list of essays and reviews which speak of the work of Adolf Deissmann. George Milligan, "The Grammar of the Greek New Testament," in E.T., Vol. 31, June 1920, p. 422. Adolf Deissmann, "The Power of the Cross," in E.T., Vol. 32, April 1921, pp. 299-301. H. A. A. Kennedy, "Deissmann's 'Licht vom Osten'," in E.T., Vol. 34, June 1923, pp. 415-416. Rendel Harris, "Deissmann on the Holy Grail," in E.T., Vol. 35, August 1924, pp. 523-524. (This article is critical of a particular exegetical understanding of Deissmann's but acclaims his overall work.) Adolf Deissmann, "Athanasiana," in E.T., Vol. 36, October 1924, pp. 8-11. "Deissmann's Paul," in E.T., Vol. 38, August 1927, p. 491. "Notes of Recent Exposition," in E.T., Vol. 39, May 1928, p. 340. W. A. Curtis, "Leaders of Theological Thought - Gustav Adolf Deissmann," in E.T., Vol. 40, October 1928, pp. 5-10. "Dr. Deissmann on the New Testament," in E.T., Vol. 41, January 1930, pp. 162-163.

of New College.[1] As compared with men like Reitzenstein[2] and Deissmann, his views were somewhat more conservative. He writes:

> "It is scarcely necessary to apologise for a discussion of St. Paul's relation to the Mystery Religions of his Hellenistic environment. One of the most noteworthy features in the trend of contemporary scholarship is the interest manifested by philological experts in the phenomena of that extraordinary religious syncretism which prevailed in the Graeco-Roman world between 300 B.C. and 300 A.D. Their learned and instructive investigations touch nascent Christianity at numerous points, and raise many fascinating questions. Obscure places in early Christian literature are being illuminated, and the New Testament itself has much to gain from the historical reconstruction of the habits of thought and beliefs in the midst of which it came into being. The natural tendency, however, of explorers in remote fields is to over-estimate the significance of their discoveries."[3]

This pretty much sums up his attitude, but he does insist that the investigations of the History-of-Religions school were of critical importance to the understanding of the New Testament.

Two particular interpretative approaches to the New Testament growing out of the History-of-Religions school also caused some discussion. The first was the "consistent eschatology" of Johannes Weiss and

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[1]Henry Angus Alexander Kennedy was Professor of New Testament Language, Literature, and Theology at New College from 1901 to 1925.

[2]Richard Reitzenstein, Die hellenistichen Mysterienreligionen, ihre Grundgedanken und Wirkungen [The Hellenistischen mystery religions: their fundamental ideas and influence] (Leipzig/Berlin, 1910). For a more comprehensive picture of the development of the History-of-Religions school see Werner George Kummel, The New Testament; The History of the Investigation of its Problems (London, SCM Press, 1973), pp.206-324.

[3]H. A. A. Kennedy, St. Paul and the Mystery-Religions (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1913), pp. vii-viii. Also see H. A. A. Kennedy, The Theology of the Epistles (London, Duckworth, 1919). This work had a much wider circulation and was in its seventh reprinting in 1959.

Albert Schweitzer.[1] The response of A. B. D. Alexander is typical of the few others.[2] He admits the importance of the eschatological side of Jesus' proclamation, but he insists that this must be balanced by the other Biblical texts which tell of its gradual development.[3]

The second interpretative approach was form criticism. In 1923, H. A. A. Kennedy reviewed Rudolf Bultmann's Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition.[4] Herein, Bultmann is given some high praise for his creative work. Not much else is said about form criticism until 1928 in a review of a book by B. S. Easton.[5] Within the review, the material about form criticism is introductory and explanatory. It must be admitted that both "consistent eschatology" and form criticism provoked some discussion but not enough to be judged as significant.

It is also reasonable to say that during this period considerable discussion was focused upon the more subjective side of interpretation. One wonders if this focus was not caused by the increasing hold that

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[1]Johannes Weiss, Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes [Jesus' proclamation of the Kingdom of God] (Gottingen, 2nd and revised ed., 1900). Albert Schweitzer, The Quest of the Historical Jesus (London, A. and C. Black, 1910).

[2]A. B. D. Alexander, "The Kingdom of God and the Ethic of Jesus," pp. 73-77. See also "Notes of Recent Exposition," E.T., Vol. 40, July 1929, pp. 433-435.

[3]Ibid., pp. 73-74.

[4]H. A. A. Kennedy, "A New Departure in the Investigation of the Synoptic Gospels," in E.T., Vol. 34, February 1923, pp. 217-218.

[5]"Notes of Recent Exposition," in E.T., Vol. 40, December 1928, pp. 97-99.

historical critical methodologies were gaining upon the interpretation of the Bible. For those not equipped with the specialized techniques for historical Biblical research, this more personal side of interpretation must have appeared as an appealing alternative.

One aspect of this more subjective side of interpretation that caused significant discussion was the role of religious experience. The conviction that belief should be based upon the data and witness of Christian experience hails back to the work of A. B. Davidson, W. Robertson Smith, and James Denney.[1] Although these men have never neglected, or perceived as secondary, the historical nature of revelation, they were repelled by any form of rationalism as the basis for belief.[2] The importance of experience as a criterion for interpretation is maintained throughout this period in varying ways.

An example of this can be found in an address by Archibald Henderson to divinity students.[3] Herein, he writes:

> "It is a matter in the first instance of supreme concern for yourselves: that your belief should have the attestation of such practical experience of its power. I certainly do not suggest that acceptance of a Scripture doctrine is to be withheld till some definite experience attests it. Every one to whose heart the Word of God has, by His Spirit, evidenced itself as His Word, receives His teaching therein. But there is our Lord's word, 'If any man willeth to do his will, he shall know of the teaching.' That speaks clearly of experience following on the obedience of faith. Nor by experience

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[1] "Notes of Recent Exposition," in E.T., Vol. 30, July 1919, p. 436.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Archibald Henderson, "A Theology of Experience," in E.T., Vol. 32, July 1921, pp. 456-459. A. Henderson was Principal of Glasgow College from 1918 to 1921 without holding a teaching post.

> of power of truth is meant some startling and unusual event in your spiritual life. It may come so; but rather is it to be looked for in the cause of calm meditation on the Word and in the intimacy of prayer. As a well attested fact such experiences do visit men's souls."[1]

Although it must be admitted that Henderson is from the "old school," this emphasis upon spiritual experience as a foundation for belief continues to be found in the plethora of writings dedicated to the more devotional side of a minister's life.

A further example of the import of religious experience is discovered in the frequent discussions about the works of Friedrich Schleiermacher and Rudolf Otto. Although John Baillie found himself out of sympathy with their views, there were others who did not. Articles and reviews about their work kept appearing during this period.[2] Even though these two repeatedly transgressed the sensibilities of their commentators, their significance as supporters of the more subjective side of understanding did not go unnoticed nor unappreciated.

A final example of the high esteem held for religious experience comes from the explosion of articles and book reviews about psychology

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[1] Ibid., p. 457.

[2] A partial listing is as follows: J. G. Tasker, "Recent Studies of Schleiermacher," in E.T., Vol. 34, June 1923, pp. 414-415. James Stalker, "The Life of Schleiermacher," in E.T., Vol. 35, November 1923, pp. 88-89. "Schleiermacher," in E.T., Vol. 40, April 1929, pp. 304-305. (It must be noted that in 1928 H. R. Mackintosh and James S. Stewart translated Schleiermacher's The Christian Faith into English.) William Fulton, "Dogma and Spirit," E.T., Vol. 40, August 1929, pp. 509-514. H. Mulhert, "Otto's 'The Idea of the Holy'," in E.T., Vol. 35, July 1924, pp. 459-462. "Notes of Recent Exposition," in E.T., Vol. 35, April 1924, pp. 292-293. H. R. Mackintosh, "The Conception of the Numinous," in E.T., Vol. 35, September 1924, pp. 555-556. H. R. Mackintosh, "Christology," in E.T., Vol. 38, October 1926, pp. 23-25. "Notes of Recent Exposition," in E.T., Vol. 40, April 1929, pp. 291-293.

and its relation to Christianity. In a long article written by F. J. Rae, the "New Psychology" is assessed as significant because of the high value it places upon experience. He writes:

> "One thing may indeed be reckoned to the New Psychology for righteousness ... Its reduction of the importance of the purely rational function of the mind, however exaggerated, contains a valuable truth. The emphasis on instinct and emotion and on their place in life is simply an echo of the teaching of Scripture.... In other words, all through the Bible it is experience that is the avenue to the knowledge of God and to certainty about Him."[1]

This basic contention is found frequently repeated as the numbers of articles grow.

An interesting aspect of the rise of articles on psychology was the number of them which use the insights of this science to understand the meaning of Biblical subject-matter. The findings of psychology are used to aid in the understanding of sin, Jesus Christ, the twelve disciples, miracles, the Hebrew prophets, and the parables.[2] Although these articles are not particularly illuminating, they do indicate the widespread interest provoked by psychology.

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[1] F. J. Rae, "Religious Experience and the New Psychology," in E.T., Vol. 34, July 1923, p. 460.

[2] F. R. Tennant, "The Psychology of Sin," in E.T., Vol. 30, June 1919, pp. 411-413. "The Psychology of Our Lord," in E.T., Vol. 33, November 1921, pp. 63-64. S. Tonkin, "The Psychology of the Twelve," in E.T., Vol. 33, September 1922, pp. 562-564. "Notes of Recent Exposition," in E.T., Vol. 34, December 1922, p. 121. "Notes of Recent Exposition," in E.T., Vol. 36, March 1925, pp. 244-246. "Notes of Recent Exposition," in E.T., Vol. 36, June 1925, pp. 406-407. A. T. Burbridge, "The Seed Growing Secretly": A Study in the Psychology of the Parables, in E.T., Vol. 40, December 1928, pp. 139-141.

During this period from 1918 to 1930, the tale told by The Expository Times is one of re-evaluation and re-assessment. The revolution to be caused by Barthian influences has yet to arrive in Scotland. Ritschlianism vis-a-vis the works of Harnack and Herrmann still commanded significant discussion. The insights from the History-of-Religions school, and especially the works of Deissmann, appear to have been considered very seriously. Furthermore, the value placed upon religious experience remains high. Even so, these were fields of inquiry that were of import before the Great War. The discussions in this period were somewhat more critical than those previous, but the focus was similar.

The Influence of Karl Barth

In the decade between 1930 and 1940, the theological thought of Karl Barth, and the others belonging to the "Swiss School," made a strong impact upon Scottish academic circles. Although there were only a few who could be called full-fledged followers of Barth, there were many who were strongly affected by his work. It did not particularly matter whether one agreed with him or not. One thing was certain. He could not be ignored.[1] In this decade, his thought and works flooded into Scotland and roused much debate.

To support these claims, one needs to consider only two pieces of evidence. First, in this decade, nine of Barth's "principal works"

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[1]John Baillie, Our Knowledge of God (London, Oxford University Press, 1939), p. 17. Herein, Baillie complained, "I have already mentioned Dr. Barth and must often mention him again - nobody seems to be able to talk theology these days without mentioning him."

were published in English.[1] Second, in The Expository Times, Barth appears in one way or another in every composite volume of this period. In 1932, there were six major and lengthy articles written on the "Barthian School."[2] In 1937, Barth himself wrote an article for the October edition.[3] Furthermore, all nine of his "principal works" published during this time were given lengthy reviews.[4] Even more important than the many articles written about him were the numerous times his theological perspectives were mentioned in articles and reviews which were not directly about him or his work. In this decade, the theological thought of Barth rapidly became the standard reference from which other perspectives were measured.

Even though Barth's work became a standard reference, there were varying reactions in Scottish academic circles. Some, like D. M. Baillie, did not like his dialectical style.[5] He writes:

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[1]Thomas F. Torrance, Karl Barth, p. 221.

[2]J. H. Morrison, "The Barthian School": I An Appreciation, in E.T., Vol. 43, April 1932, pp. 314-317. N. W. Porteous, "The Barthian School": II The Theology of Karl Barth, in E.T., Vol. 43, May 1932, pp. 341-346. John McConnachie, "The Barthian School": III Friedrich Gogarten (Part I), in E.T., Vol. 43, June 1932, pp. 391-395. John McConnachie, "The Barthian School": III Friedrich Gogarten (Part II), in E.T., Vol. 43, July 1932, pp. 461-466. Vincent Taylor, "The Barthian School": IV Rudolf Bultmann, in E.T., Vol. 43, August 1932, pp. 485-490. J. K. Mozley, "The Barthian School": V Emil Brunner, in E.T., Vol. 43, September 1932, pp. 534-538.

[3]Karl Barth, "The Basic Forms of Theological Thought," in E.T., Vol. 49, October 1937, pp. 5-8.

[4]For example, see "Notes of Recent Exposition," in E.T., Vol. 48, November 1936, pp. 50-53. This is a review of Barth's Credo.

[5]See also H. R. Mackintosh, Types of Modern Theology, p. 299.

> "Many students of Barth and his school must have received a twofold impression: that the school has something vital to say which needed to be said; and that this seems unfortunately to be bound up with a good deal of almost perverse paradox."[1]

Baillie acknowledges the importance of Barth's work, but criticizes the "mystifications" of his presentation.[2]

Others, like John Baillie and D. S. Cairns, were appreciative but highly critical. For instance, both of these men agreed that Barth's concept of God as "totaliter aliter" was a distortion.[3] While Cairns admits its usefulness as a corrective, he states that it is "clean against the teaching of Scripture."[4] Furthermore, a similar attitude is expressed by these men regarding Barth's rejection of natural theology and his understanding of the nature of man.

A more sympathetic and informed response to Barth's work is found in E. P. Dickie's Kerr Lectures.[5] Herein, he writes:

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[1]D. M. Baillie, "Recent Foreign Theology," in E.T., Vol. 42, October 1930, p. 44.

[2]Ibid. Donald MacPherson Baillie was Professor of Systematic Theology, University of St. Andrews, 1935-1954.

[3]John Baillie, Our Knowledge of God, p. 229. D. S. Cairns, The Riddle of the World (London, Oxford Unviersity Press, 1937), p. 325.

[4]D. S. Cairns, The Riddle of the World, p. 325. David Smith Cairns was Professor of Apologetics and Systematic Theology, Christ's College, Aberdeen, 1907-1946.

[5]Edgar P. Dickie, Revelation and Response (Edinburgh, T. and T. Clark, 1938). Edgar Primrose Dickie was Professor of Divinity at the University of St. Andrews, 1935-1967.

> "We must inquire concerning the Wholly Other whether it can be made ours by discovery, whether reason is competent of itself to find its way. The religious man answers with an unhesitating 'No.' Knowledge of the Wholly Other comes, not by search nor discernment, but by revelation."[1]

Even though he states this, he then goes on to warn that this must be "guarded against dangers of misinterpretation."[2] He lists three possible misunderstandings and attempts further clarification.[3] It is at this point that he both supports and criticizes some of the implications that Barth draws from this concept. On the whole, Dickie appears to take a more moderate position in regard to Barth than did John Baillie or D. S. Cairns.[4]

A more positive response to Barth's theological thought comes from the pen of H. R. Mackintosh and G. T. Thomson.[5] In his summary, Mackintosh is more willing to offer praise than criticism.[6] He also exposes some of the superficial and uninformed critiques of Barth's thought.[7] Although

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[1]Ibid., p. 98.

[2]Ibid., p. 99.

[3]Ibid., pp. 99-109.

[4]For further information see J. K. Mozley, Some Tendencies in British Theology, pp. 156-157.

[5]George Thomas Thomson was Professor of Systematic Theology in Aberdeen from 1928 to 1936 and Professor of Christian Dogmatics in Edinburgh from 1936 to 1952.

[6]H. R. Mackintosh, Types of Modern Theology, p. 316. Even so, he does criticize Barth's concept of God as "absolutely unknown," the contention that the image of God was erased by the Fall, the bias toward defining the human and the divine only by way of contrast, and the demand to crucify the intellect as a precondition to entering the Kingdom.

[7]Ibid., pp. 304-305. This is but one example.

he is not afraid of pointing out weak spots, his opinion of Barth has grown considerably in the last decade. As for G. T. Thomson, it was he who translated the first half-volume of Barth's Church Dogmatics into English, and said of his work on the triune God, "The original is undoubtedly the greatest treatise on the trinity since the Reformation, by one whose faith has been put to the touch and come out the stronger; I have read nothing like it except Martin Luther and John Calvin."[1] Mackintosh concurs with Thomson's estimate.[2]

The most positive reaction to Barth did not come from Scottish academic circles but from two parish ministers named John McConnachie and George S. Hendry. During this decade, McConnachie wrote two books, partly expository and partly defensive, on Barth's theology.[3] In his God the Creator, Hendry breaks ranks with most of his theological mentors and recent predecessors and joins Barth in declaring that God cannot be known by any faculty of man but by revelation alone.[4] Hendry not only defends Barthian positions, but also uses them as a foundation for some of his own arguments. Despite the varying responses to Barthian theology, the simple fact that his thought appears in so many places and causes so much discussion is testimony to his impact.

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[1]Karl Barth, Church Dogmatics: The Doctrine of the Word of God, trans. by G. T. Thomson, (Edinburgh, T. and T. Clark, 1936), Vol. I, Part I, p. v.

[2]H. R. Mackintosh, Types of Modern Theology, p. 300.

[3]John McConnachie, The Significance of Karl Barth (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1931); and, The Barthian Theology and the Man of To-Day (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1934).

[4]George S. Hendry, God the Creator (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1937), p. 16.

Besides the more controversial aspects of Barth's theology, there were others which were somewhat more congenial to Scottish academics. His construct of the threefold form of the Word of God, his convictions about the nature of Scripture, and his comments on the interpretation of Biblical material were more carefully considered. At this point, it serves us well to look at each of these a little closer.

Barth put forward that the Word of God has three forms.[1] The first is proclaimed in the act of preaching and is sometimes called the preached Word. The Word "meets us, first of all, as something proclaimed in the Church, and proclaimed as that which has its source beyond the Church itself. Preaching is the event in which God is speaking through the speech of men."[2] This does not imply that human thought or will are extinguished in this event. It means simply that God can speak His Word through the Church's proclamation.

The second form is the Word of God written or simply called the written Word. "As a witness to the revelation in Jesus Christ, the Bible is the written Word of God, declared by prophets and apostles."[3] Even though the Bible is a human document and therefore subject to all the techniques of literary and historical criticism, it is also a recollection of revelation and a unique witness to Jesus Christ. Since the

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[1]K. Barth, Church Dogmatics, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 98-140.

[2]H. R. Mackintosh, Types of Modern Theology, p. 288.

[3]Ibid., p. 289.

Bible is the original and legitimate witness to God's revelation, it has been chosen by God as a means to speak to men and women in all ages His one divine Word. Using the Scriptures, God can lay hold of us by His Spirit and speak His Word. "The Bible," says Barth, "lifts us out of the old atmosphere of men to the portals of a new world, the world of God."[1]

The third form is the Word of God revealed or simply the revealed Word. "The revealed Word of God is the Word He spoke to prophet and apostle in Jesus Christ ..."[2] The revealed Word is primary and unequivocal because it "establishes the two other forms in that both Holy Scripture and the Church's proclamation based upon Holy Scripture, bear witness to the revealed Word of God."[3] Although the Bible and proclamation are not revelation in and of themselves, God can make them the same, and when he does, then we hear God speaking.

But this revealed Word is not some static content, it is in the last analysis the living Lord Jesus Christ Himself. As McConnachie explains:

> "Behind the Scriptures, Barth seeks, 'the Revealed Word,' the Word in its original form, out of which Scripture and Church proclamation have sprung ... In his search for the Word of God Barth ultimately arrives at Jesus Christ, God's Son or Word - for the two are identical - who speaks for Himself, and needs no witness, and who has called both the Old and the New Testaments into existence. God's Word is His Son ..."[4]

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[1] J. McConnachie, The Barthian Theology and the Man of To-Day, p. 95.

[2] H. R. Mackintosh, Types of Modern Theology, p. 290.

[3] Herbert Hartwell, The Theology of Karl Barth: An Introduction (Philadelphia, Westminster Press, 1964), p. 63.

[4] J. McConnachie, The Barthian Theology and the Man of To-Day, p. 62.

As Barth himself claims, "Revelation in fact does not differ from the Person of Jesus Christ."[1]

In all of this, it would be an error to suppose that Barth identifies the words of the Bible or the proclamation of the Church with the Word. "He makes perfectly clear that both the Bible and the proclamation of the Church are but the result of human activities and on that account are in themselves merely the word of man and not the Word of God, being afflicted with all the limitations and weaknesses which are inevitably bound up with anything human. He claims, however, that by the grace of God and in the power of the Holy Spirit they can become and in that case are the Word of God when and where God pleases."[2] Although the Bible and the Church's proclamation are simply the word of man, they can become a channel or a vehicle by which God can speak His Word.

Despite the fact that Barth talks of three forms of God's Word to mankind, he does not mean that they are three several Words. "It is one and the same, whether we regard it as revelation, as the Bible, or as proclamation. There is no distinction of degree or value among these three forms. For so far as proclamation really rests upon recollection of the revelation attested in the Bible and is therefore the obedient repetition of the Biblical witness, it is no less the Word of God than the Bible. And so far as the Bible really attests revelation it is no less the Word of God than revelation itself. By becoming the Word of God in virtue of the actuality of revelation, the Bible

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[1]K. Barth, Church Dogmatics, Vol. I, Part I, p. 134.

[2]H. Hartwell, The Theology of Karl Barth, p. 62.

and proclamation are also the Word, the one Word of God within which there can be neither a more or a less."[1]

Upon first appearance, Barth's concept of the three forms of God's Word must have been confusing for the average reader. It was reported but not criticized in its pre-Church Dogmatics form within an article by N. W. Porteous.[2] It was also reported in both of McConnachie's works.[3] Here again, an exposition of the three forms was also rendered by both Mackintosh and Dickie.[4] After reading all these abbreviated attempts at explaining what Barth took a multitude of pages to unfold, one would wonder if these men were writing about the same topics. Despite this confusion, an average reader would have certainly surmised that there were three forms of the Word, the preached, the written, and the revealed, and that these were respectively preaching, the Bible, and Jesus Christ.[5]

As regards his view of Scripture as the written Word, Barth proved that he was neither a fundamentalist nor a supporter of bibliolatry. "There is in the Bible, he says, no static, traditional Word of God,

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[1]K. Barth, Church Dogmatics, Vol. I, Part I, p. 136.

[2]N. W. Porteous, "The Barthian School, II, The Theology of Karl Barth," pp. 341-346. Norman Walker Porteous was a Professor in some area of Old Testament studies in three chairs from 1931-1968.

[3]J. McConnachie, The Significance of Karl Barth, pp. 94-101; and The Barthian Theology and the Man of To-Day, pp. 60-62.

[4]H. R. Mackintosh, Types of Modern Theology, pp. 288-291; and E. P. Dickie, Revelation and Response, pp. 189-191.

[5]Even though the revealed Word of God as the primary form is not Jesus Christ but the Word God spoke to prophet and apostle in Jesus Christ, the fact that Barth makes this statement elsewhere makes this simplification credible and attractive.

abstracted from the acting Person of God. God is always the speaking Subject, not the object of Revelation. We cannot objectify the Word of God. It does not lie in a book as an abiding possession for any one to take, it only becomes the Word of God as it finds us in the existential moment. The Word of God is always an event, in which God breaks through the wall of our personality in an "eternal moment," and calls, commands, blesses us as individuals. The Word of God can be heard of us only when we cease to be spectators and become actors."[1]

Because of this view of Scripture, Barth saw literary and historical criticism as justified and necessary but only as prolegomena. "Exegesis is there in order that the Bible, all veils of misinterpretation removed, may be left free to tell us what the Word of God really is."[2] The actual aim of exegesis is not just to uncover what the Biblical writers meant to communicate to their listeners but to discover what God is saying to us now. "In his exegesis Barth wished to allow the Bible to speak, not as a collection of human documents, but as the Word of God itself."[3]

It is because Barth practiced this type of theological interpretation of Biblical subject matter that his Biblical work appeared so novel. One reviewer remarked:

> "How wholesome a change from the modern type of commentary in which calm and critical scholars, in a spirit of complete detachment, canvass each other's opinions

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[1] J. McConnachie, The Significance of Karl Barth, pp. 115-116.

[2] H. R. Mackintosh, Types of Modern Theology, p.289.

[3] W. G. Kummel, The New Testament, p. 363.

> without passion or conviction. Here is a man [Barth] who trembles at the Word of God because he feels in his soul that it is God's Word, a Word that searches and judges him."[1]

For Barth, the exegete who merely aims at giving historical results has forgotten why Christian people study the Bible in the first place.

In a different article, James Smart puts it in another way:

> "He [Barth] wrote his commentary on Romans to show that exegesis of the Scriptures must go beyond critical analysis and the understanding of a passage in the light of the times. His contention was that as exegesis the modern commentary leaves the main task untouched. Its chief and final task is the theological task - so to interpret the words of Scripture that the walls of the centuries which divide us, for instance, from Paul, become thin, and we hear him asking our questions and receiving answers, divine answers for himself and for us."[2]

For Barth, the final task of Biblical science is that the Word which was spoken to the men of the Bible may sound forth into the ears of people today.

A final aspect of Barth's interpretative approach that met with mixed reviews was his exclusive emphasis upon God's self-revelation in Scripture. Those who desired a corrective focus upon tradition, reason, or religious experience were not to find an ally in Barth. He was quite critical of these three aspects. As one sympathetic writer, A. C. Craig, noted in his University Sermons, "Karl Barth and his followers

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[1] "Karl Barth on the Resurrection," in E.T., Vol. 44, June 1933, p. 402. This is a review of Barth's The Resurrection of the Dead which is a commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians.

[2] James D. Smart, "The Return of Theology to the Church," in E.T., Vol. 49, February 1938, pp, 221-222.

have done our generation the distinguished service of pressing home with power the truth that what we call "religion" or "religious experience" is always in danger of lying on the wrong side...."[1] Even though Craig sided with Barth on this point, there were others who believed he was much too critical in his "atheistic" anthropology.

For many in Scotland, Barth's views regarding the Bible must have appeared to solve a lot of the current problems. Using his scheme of the threefold form of the Word of God and the double aspect of the Bible as the Word of God and the word of man, he was able to assert the central importance of the Bible without supporting any form of fundamentalism or bibliolatry. He was able to accept its human and historic character, but not to find this in conflict with its role as the mediator of revelation. He was also able to subordinate the Scriptures to the higher reality of God's self-revelation in Jesus Christ, but continued to uphold the essential place of the Bible in all decisions about what is or is not revelation. This must have appeared as an attractive solution especially to the younger Scottish academics and ministers.

What can be said for certain is threefold. First, the work of Barth was calling into question the essential presuppositions of liberal theology. Secondly, his work was demanding a return to a more theologically oriented interpretation of Biblical subject matter. Thirdly, his emphasis upon the Reformation was calling all to reconsider the central elements of the Christian faith. This he did in a dynamic and persuasive way.

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[1] A. C. Craig, University Sermons, pp. 60-61.

By considering the entries in The Expository Times and the writings of various Scottish theologians during this period from 1930 to 1940, it is also certain that Barth and the others associated with him had a significant impact within Scottish academic circles.[1] Although there were some like D. S. Cairns and John Baillie who were critical, there were also others like H. R. Mackintosh and E. P. Dickie who were more moderate. Outright support for Barth came from parish ministers and theologians like John McConnachie, George S. Hendry, and G. T. Thomson. Even though Barth had yet to rise to the pinnacle of his popularity and influence in Scottish academic circles, his works undoubtedly were becoming increasingly more acceptable and popular.

The Effects of Form Criticism

During this period from 1930 to 1940, another development within the field of Biblical interpretation that was given extensive coverage in The Expository Times was the method and results of form critical studies. Although H. A. A. Kennedy wrote a review of Bultmann's Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition in 1923, it was not until the

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[1]It must be noted that Emil Brunner was very popular in Scottish academe. To the more conservative scholars, his views were slightly more temperate and, therefore, somewhat more acceptable than those of Barth. Since Brunner did not reject natural theology out of hand and since his thought was expressed clearly without Barth's "almost perverse paradox," he appealed to many who could not accept Barth. Even so, for the purposes of this study, his views are not so markedly different that they require a treatment of their own.

1930s that form criticism became well enough known to be a controversial topic. In Scottish academic circles, the form critical method was not as questionable as were some of its basic presuppositions and some of its more radical results.

In 1931, James MacKinnon noted within his The Historic Jesus the existence of the "Formgeschichtliche Schule" but dismissed its findings as far too extreme to be taken seriously.[1] He did admit that the "importations into the authentic tradition in the course of its transmission are, indeed, discernible in the written form in which it has been preserved."[2] He then went on to say that the tendency to eliminate extensively from the Gospels what are deemed as later importations is overdone by the form critics. Even more so, he believed that these importations were not sufficient to affect the Gospels as historically reliable sources. He ended the matter by saying that the historian need not "burden his work" nor "waste his time in carrying on a futile controversy with it."[3]

In 1932, C. H. Dodd wrote a survey article about the recent developments in Gospel criticism.[4] Herein, he dedicated half his content to

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[1]James MacKinnon, The Historic Jesus (London, Longmans, Green and Co., 1931), p. x-xiii. James MacKinnon was Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History at the University of Edinburgh from 1908 to 1930.

[2]Ibid., pp. xii-xiii.

[3]Ibid., p. xiii.

[4]C. H. Dodd, "Present Tendencies in the Criticism of the Gospels," in E.T., Vol. 43, March 1932, pp. 246-251.

an introductory discussion of form criticism. After describing the advances in source criticism which lead up to this new method, he then spoke of its presuppositions and results. It was clear that he was not yet convinced especially by the work of Dibelius and Bultmann. As he wrote:

> "The school of Formgeschichte has not, I think it must be admitted, as yet produced a work of really first-class quality ..., nor have its achieved results so far been commensurate with the éclat with which it has been announced. Its conclusions so far are very vulnerable. But it would be a mistake to undervalue its importance."[1]

Dodd postulated that "when the instrument has been improved, when the practitioners have worked out more adequate canons of criticism, and when it has been more thoroughly applied, we may expect more significant results."[2]

Not long after, Dodd wrote another article.[3] In this one, he directly attacked the assumption of form criticism regarding the compilation of Mark's Gospel. Instead of seeing it as a group of short narrative units with a superimposed framework as did Schmidt and others, he argued that the Marcan order was a compromise between a chronological and topical order, and, therefore, somewhat more trustworthy than it was supposed. Although the traditional outline could not be viewed as history in the same way it was before form critical studies, Dodd concluded that "there is good reason to believe that in broad lines the Marcan order does represent a genuine succession of events, within which movement and

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[1] Ibid., p. 248.

[2] Ibid.

[3] C. H. Dodd, "The Framework of the Gospel Narrative," in E.T., Vol. 43, June 1932, pp. 396-400.

development can be traced."[1] At this point, Dodd's findings were more moderate than those of his German counterparts.

By 1933, Vincent Taylor had published a series of lectures in which he evaluated and used form criticism.[2] Actually, this was the first authoritative form critical investigation done by a British academic. Like Dodd, he used this new tool in a cautious manner. In fact, Taylor had to modify some of the basic postulates and procedures of its earliest exponents in order to arrive at his conservative results.[3] Generally, Taylor was much more confident about the authenticity of the Gospel material than was either Dibelius or Bultmann. In point of fact, Taylor is very critical of Bultmann's skepticism. This was typical of the initial British reaction to Bultmann's radical criticism.

Now, what were these basic assumptions of Dibelius and Bultmann that were causing the varying opinions? During this same year in his Inaugural Lecture,[4] G. H. C. MacGregor describes them as follows:

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[1]Ibid., p. 400.

[2]Vincent Taylor, The Formation of the Gospel (London, MacMillan and Co., 1933).

[3]Edgar V. McKnight, What Is Form Criticism (Philadelphia, Fortress Press, 1969), pp. 47-50.

[4]This Inaugural Lecture was delivered in the University of Glasgow on the 10th October, 1933 and reproduced in its entirety in The Expository Times. George H. C. MacGregor, "Recent Gospel Criticism and Our Approach to the Life of Jesus," (Part I), in E.T., Vol. 45, February 1934, pp. 198-203; and (Part II), Vol. 45, March 1934, pp. 283-286. G. H. C. MacGregor was Professor of Divinity and Biblical Criticism in the University of Glasgow from 1933 to 1963.

(1) "The outline of narrative original to Mark, and underlying all the Gospels, is an artificial construction which guarantees no real or organic relation between the episodes which fill it up. Our sole materials are isolated traditions and fragmentary reports. Each paragraph must be considered as a separate unit transmitted, it may be, by tradition quite independently of its neighbours. What came to Mark's hand was a disordered heap of pearls which he has strung together in the order which pleased him best, and upon a thread of his own spinning."[1]

(2) "As to the character of these fragmentary traditions, whether oral or written, they are not historical data, intended to keep alive the memory of Jesus as He really was: they are rather religious data, expressing the faith of the community which first produced them, and intended to propagate that faith by interpreting to the piety of the Church Jesus as that community had come to see Him."[2]

(3) "And here we have the thesis which gives the school its name: as to their form, the materials constituting the gospel tradition are to be grouped under a number of types corresponding to the various functions of the primitive Church - preaching, instruction, illustration, apology, missionary work. Since they have been elaborated with an eye to the particular church purpose for which they are intended, our gospel traditions are of the highest importance for the history of the primitive community, but provide no data for the reconstruction of the life of Jesus."[3]

Basically, it was these three assumptions that were causing the various reactions to form critical studies at this point in time.

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[1]Ibid., p. 199.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid.

Rudolf Bultmann took these assumptions and worked them out to their most radical extremes. "In my opinion," writes Bultmann, "what we can know of the life and personality of Jesus is as good as nothing;" and again, "We can no longer know the character of Jesus, His personality, or His life ... Not a single one of His sayings can be shown to be authentic."[1] Although Bultmann did believe that we could derive the message proclaimed about Jesus by carefully analyzing the proclamation of the primitive church, he was adamant in his conviction that the gospels were not biographical nor could they be employed to speculate about the psychology of Jesus.

For both Dibelius and Bultmann, historical knowledge of Jesus could not be the foundation for the Christian faith. "As Dibelius puts it: 'Jesus, as historically known and classified in connection with historical happenings, does not save; and the saving quality of Christ known to faith cannot be exhibited by means of historical research because it is super-historical in character.'"[2] This rejection of "Historie," like the other radical assumptions and results of the original form critics, was taken by most British Biblical scholars to be somewhat unreasonable.

In this regard, MacGregor is no exception. He sides with Dodd in a qualified acceptance of the Marcan framework.[3] Secondly, he

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., pp. 200-201.

agrees with F. C. Burkitt and M. Goguel that one can discover in the Gospels a limited amount of material which explains Jesus' psychological development during his ministry.[1] Thirdly, he joins Vincent Taylor and B. S. Easton in trusting the historical reliability of the Gospels more than Dibelius or Bultmann.[2] These kinds of modifications made form critical studies much more intriguing within British academic circles.

The reaction of MacGregor was not unlike his Scottish colleagues. George S. Duncan, for instance, sets out in his essay to argue for the historic trustworthiness of the Gospel accounts as against the more radical form critics.[3] He does concede that the Gospels are essentially a compilation of isolated fragments of tradition[4] and that the "Gospels do not pretend to be 'lives' of Jesus."[5] Even so, he contends that the Marcan outline provides "in a general way the development both of external events and of Jesus' thoughts and plans during the ministry."[6] Further, he finds the skepticism of the more radical form

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[1]Ibid., pp. 201-202.

[2]Ibid., pp. 202-203.

[3]George S. Duncan, "The Historic Value of the Gospels," in W. R. Matthews, edit. The Christian Faith (London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1936), pp. 97-137. George S. Duncan was Professor of Biblical Criticism in the University of St. Andrews from 1919 to 1954.

[4]Ibid., p. 113.

[5]Ibid., p. 115.

[6]Ibid.

critics as untenable.[1] Overall, Duncan values some of the insights of form criticism, but is unwilling to go as far as to doubt the basic historic reliability of the Gospel accounts.[2]

Another similar, though somewhat less conservative, reaction is discovered in William Manson's 1940 Cunningham Lectures.[3] This is perhaps the most well-informed and the most favourable response to form criticism found within Scottish academic circles during this time period. Of course, Manson is unwilling to venture as far as the more radical form critics, yet he certainly knows and uses their arguments and analysis. He admits that the Gospel material was deeply "inwoven with the thought, the life, the point of view of the Christian Church"[4] and that it was shaped by the practical necessities and interests of the first generation of Christians. Although Manson makes extensive use of Bultmann's Die Geschichte der Synoptischen Tradition, he is rarely willing to be as skeptical. He is much more willing to side with men like C. H. Dodd or Vincent Taylor.

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[1]Ibid., pp. 114-116.

[2]A fuller statement of Duncan's position in regard to form criticism was made in his 1937 Croall Lectures. See George S. Duncan, Jesus, Son of Man (London, Nisbet and Co., 1946), pp. 18-23.

[3]William Manson, Jesus the Messiah; The Synoptic Tradition of the Revelation of God in Christ: With Special Reference to Form-Criticism (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1943). William Manson was Professor of New Testament Language, Literature and Theology in the University of Edinburgh from 1925 to 1952.

[4]Ibid., p. 1.

Despite these generally conservative reactions, form criticism would prove to have a significant effect upon Scottish Biblical scholarship. G. H. C. MacGregor was right in identifying the following three tendencies which would in the immediate future govern the approach to the Gospels.

(1) "There is a tendency first to emphasize the thought of Jesus rather than the sequence of His recorded acts as the key to the understanding of His life."[1]

(2) "A second most valuable tendency is the fresh interest of gospel criticism in the life and thought of the Christian community in the generation preceding the beginnings of gospel writing."[2]

(3) "And then, lastly, there is the tendency towards what I call the reintegration of the Gospels ... We are no longer content to rely, like the late Liberals, on Mark alone."[3]

One could also add that the study of the particular literary genres would cause scholars to reconsider the nature of the parables, the miracle stories, the resurrection narratives, and other repeated modes of literary expression found in the Gospels.

During this decade from 1930 to 1940, form criticism slowly became acceptable within some Scottish academic circles. Although it met initially with some resistance, it gradually became more credible. The form critical method of investigation was not so much the problem as was the

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[1]George H. C. MacGregor, "Recent Gospel Criticism and Our Approach to the Life of Jesus," Part II, in E.T., Vol. 45, March 1934, p. 283.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid., p. 285.

presuppositions and results of some of its more radical practitioners. When more conservative scholars like Taylor and Dodd employed the form critical method and arrived at different conclusions, it was then that the method became more intriguing to Scottish academics. Even though MacGregor and Duncan could not formally be called form critics, they definitely used its insights and results. By the end of the decade, Manson is not only well-informed about the developments in form critical studies, he is also using the method itself to draw his own results. Even so, this was only the beginning of form criticism's impact upon Scottish Biblical scholarship.

The Impact of C. H. Dodd

Besides the waning influence of liberalism, the growing popularity of Barthianism, and the effects of form critical studies, Scottish Biblical scholarship during this period was also effected by the work of Charles Harold Dodd. Owing to his strong Calvinistic upbringing[1] and his somewhat conservative approach to New Testament studies, his work was attractive to Scottish academics. His books are frequently alluded to in the works of Scottish New Testament scholars,[2] and he contributed no less than seven major articles to The Expository

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[1]F. W. Dillistone, C. H. Dodd: Interpreter of the New Testament (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1977), pp. 13-37.

[2]George S. Duncan, Jesus, Son of Man, pp. 19, 51, 182, 189f, 214, and 255. See also W. Manson, Jesus the Messiah, pp. 57, 85, 89, 95, and 191.

Times during this particular decade from 1930 to 1940.[1] One commentatory has even called him "unquestionably the leading British New Testament scholar of this century."[2]

One particular aspect of Dodd's thought which provoked controversy was his concept of realized eschatology. According to the arguments put forward in The Parables of the Kingdom, Dodd maintained that much of Jesus' teaching speaks of the Kingdom as already come.[3] He wrote:

> "Here then is the fixed point from which our interpretation of the teaching regarding the Kingdom of God must start. It represents the ministry of Jesus as 'realized eschatology,' that is to say, as the impact upon this world of the 'powers of the world to come,' in a series of events, unprecedented and unrepeatable, now in actual process."[4]

In his view, the complex of events comprising Jesus' ministry, teaching, death, and resurrection constitute the coming of the Kingdom.[5]

From this vantage point, Dodd went on to posit that the Kingdom of God is not simply a future reality, but it is something which is available now. He wrote:

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[1]He also published ten major books and seventeen articles in other periodicals during this decade. See W. D. Davies and D. Daube, The Background of the New Testament and Its Eschatology (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1964), pp. xv-xvi.

[2]Richard N. Soulen, Handbook of Biblical Criticism (Atlanta, John Knox Press, 1976), p. 50. Further, W. G. Kummel, The New Testament, p. 384, wrote more cautiously that Dodd was "probably the leading English New Testament scholar of modern times."

[3]C. H. Dodd, The Parables of the Kingdom (London, Nisbet and Co., 1935), pp. 106-108.

[4]Ibid., p. 51.

[5]Ibid., pp. 185-186.

> "The Kingdom of God in its full reality is not something which will happen after other things have happened. It is that to which men awake when this order of time and space no longer limits their vision, ..."[1]

He further argued that Jesus was not greatly concerned with the future[2] and that, at least, some of the apocalyptic predictions attributed to Him were in actuality the product of the early Church.[3]

Dodd disagreed fundamentally with Schweitzer's concept of consistent eschatology.[4] Schweitzer argued that Jesus came to proclaim the approaching eschatological climax of history. He talked about the Kingdom as coming soon. For Dodd, the Kingodm was neither an evolutionary process as the Liberals had it nor a catastrophic event in the near future as Schweitzer believed, but it was for him a present crisis.[5] In Dodd's view, "to find the key to the teaching of Jesus in 'consistent eschatology,' was really proposing a compromise" which was really not a solution.[6]

In Scotland, the concept of realized eschatology did not go unnoticed. The comments of G. S. Duncan typify the reaction of Scottish academe. He wrote:

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[1]Ibid., p. 108.

[2]Ibid., pp. 108-109.

[3]Ibid., pp. 132-135.

[4]Stephen Neill, The Interpretation of the New Testament 1861-1961 (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 255.

[5]Dodd, The Parables of the Kingdom, p. 178.

[6]Ibid., p.49.

> "It is hard to believe that Dr. Dodd has not here carried his thesis too far ... Schweitzer had placed the Kingdom of God entirely in the future; Dodd limits it to the living present. This seems to be a case where 'futuristic eschatology' and 'realized eschatology' each needs the other as a complement if the progress and consummation of God's Kingdom are to be seen in true perspective."[1]

Most of the Scottish academics were convinced that Dodd over-stated his argument[2] and that the truth of the matter must include both the futuristic and present aspects of Jesus' teachings about the Kingdom of God.[3]

There were other aspects of Dodd's work which were important, but because they were not particulary controversial did not command much attention. These would have included his concept of the apostolic kerygma, his approach to the interpretation of the parables, and his overall method of interpreting Biblical subject matter. These seem to have been accepted and influential without creating a great dèal of commotion.

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[1] G. S. Duncan, Jesus, Son of Man, p. 190.

[2] To verify this statement see W. D. Niven, "After Fifty Years. VI. Eschatology and the Primitive Church," in E.T., Vol. 50, April 1939, pp. 328-329; and W. Manson, Jesus the Messiah, pp. 14-17.

[3] John A. T. Robinson, "C. H. Dodd," in A. W. Hastings and E. Hastings, edit., Theologians of Our Time (Edinburgh, T. and T. Clark, 1966), p. 45. Herein, Robinson speculates that The Parables of the Kingdom "has the air of a thesis deliberately unqualified in order to compel attention." He notes also that in later writings he surmises that Dodd "would go far in accepting" a more moderate understanding of eschatology.

Take, for instance, his small but insightful book entitled The Apostolic Preaching and its Development.[1] This volume has been described as "attractive and influential,"[2] "epoch-making,"[3] and "whose importance is out of all proportion to its size."[4] Richardson claims that Dodd "is largely responsible for having awoken in English-speaking countries the recognition of the importance of the apostolic kerygma in the theology of the New Testament"[5] and it was this work which was primarily the source.

Herein, Dodd "raised the question as to the nature of the proclamation, the kerygma, which was made by the earliest followers of Jesus. What did they actually tell their listeners? It is clear that they did not, as Harnack had supposed, tell them of the Fatherhood of God and the infinite value of the human soul. By an ingenious combination of the evidence of the speeches in the Acts of the Apostles, I Peter, the letters of Paul, and other parts of the New Testament, Dodd reaches the conclusion that the earliest preaching was a declaration of the mighty acts of God in relation to Israel, such as we find in Joshua 24 and the historical Psalms. The burden of it all is 'This has God done' - and on this follows the challenge: 'Therefore this

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[1]C. H. Dodd, The Apostolic Preaching and its Developments (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1936).

[2]James I. H. McDonald, Kerygma and Didache: The Articulation and Structure of the Earliest Christian Message (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 3.

[3]John A. T. Robinson, "C. H. Dodd,", p. 42.

[4]Robert Davidson and A. R. C. Leaney, Biblical Criticism (Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1970), p. 254.

[5]Alan Richardson, The Bible in the Age of Science (London, SCM Press, 1961), pp. 128-129.

must you do.' This is the kerygma, the task of the herald - not to teach or to edify, but to bring news."[1]

Dodd understood the kerygma to be the content of the apostles' preaching and not the act of preaching itself.[2] According to one critic, this thesis "had the unfortunate effect of encouraging an inflexible understanding of the kerygma in terms of supposed primitive and relatively stereotyped confessional formulae."[3] Furthermore, he made a clear distinction between kerygma and didache assigning to the latter a role outside of that of preaching.[4] This persuaded others to see preaching as only the proclamation of the Gospel or as the announcement of the mighty acts of God.[5] Exhortation and moral instruction - didache - lay outside the realm of preaching.

Within Scotland, Dodd's concept of the apostolic kerygma was not particularly controversial, or at least not in this decade. When the book first appeared, it was given a highly laudatory review in The Expository Times.[6] Within the subsequent issues during this period, it did not create any significant criticism.[7] In fact, within his

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[1] S. Neill, The Interpretation of the New Testament, 1861-1961, p. 254.

[2] C. H. Dodd, The Apostolic Preaching and its Development, p. 9.

[3] J. I. H. McDonald, Kerygma and Didache, p. 3.

[4] C. H. Dodd, The Apostolic Preaching and its Development, pp. 9-10.

[5] J. S. Stewart, Heralds of God, pp. 58-99.

[6] "Notes of Recent Exposition," in E.T., Vol. 47, July 1936, pp. 434-436.

[7] J. I. H. McDonald, Kerygma and Didache, p. 3. Herein, he speculates that the widespread acceptance of Dodd's concept "suggests that it spoke to some psychological need on the part of the English-speaking theological public."

1937 Croall Lectures, G. S. Duncan employed a very similar method to Dodd's as he reconstructed and analyzed the faith of the primitive Church.[1]

During this decade when a great many lively theological debates were competing for centre-stage, the more or less quiet work of C. H. Dodd had a significant but subtle impact in Scotland. That his work was well thought of by Scottish academics goes without saying. All one needs to do is to read the reviews of his major works published during this time in The Expository Times.[2] Like his understanding of the apostolic kerygma, his work with the parables, and his overall approach to the interpretation of Biblical subject matter were quietly influential in Scottish Biblical scholarship. Although Scottish academics were mostly accepting of his work, they would become more critical in the next two decades, but during this period his work was highly esteemed.

Summation

Within this time period between the Wars, the story told by The Expository Times about Scottish Biblical scholarship was one of substan-

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[1] G. S. Duncan, Jesus, Son of Man, pp. 238-247.

[2] "Literature," in E.T., Vol. 43, January 1932, p. 165. "Literature," in E.T., Vol. 43, July 1932, p. 449. "Literature," in E.T., Vol. 46, May 1935, p. 348. "Literature," in E.T., Vol. 47, May 1936, pp. 345-346. "Notes of Recent Exposition," in E.T., Vol. 47, July 1936, pp. 434-436. "Literature," in E.T., Vol. 48, November 1936, p. 62. "Notes of Recent Exposition," in E.T., Vol. 50, January 1939, pp. 147-148.

tial change and development. From 1918 to the late 1920s, German liberal theology as seen through the works of Harnack and Herrmann remained quite popular in Scottish academic circles. Granted, it was critically re-evaluated and re-assessed, but it was not abandoned immediately after the Great War as some authorities have conjectured. It remained considerably influential until the rise of Karl Barth.

As the 1920s turned into the 1930s the work of Karl Barth and the others belonging to the "Swiss School" became increasingly popular in Scotland. With his flamboyant paradox and his railings against the tenets of liberal theology, Barth eventually gained centre-stage. Although there were very mixed reactions to his thought in Scottish academe, his "neo-orthodoxy" grew in credibility. For some, his theologically oriented interpretation of Biblical subject matter was refreshing and attractive. As the 1930s drew to a close, Barth and the others associated with him became the standard reference from which other perspectives were measured.

As Barth grew in credibility so did form critical studies. Although it was initially ignored because of its association with the radicalism of Dibelius and Bultmann, it grew more intriguing as conservative British scholars used the same tool to come up with less radical and skeptical results. Even though men like G. S. Duncan and W. Manson could not properly be called form critics, it is clear that they employed the insights and the method to support their work. By the end of the 1930s, form criticism had a significant impact upon Scottish Biblical scholarship.

Also in this decade of the 1930s, one conservative British scholar whose influence was less noticeable than those just mentioned was C. H. Dodd. Although his concept of "realized eschatology" set off a minor controversy, the majority of his work was quietly affecting Scottish Biblical scholarship. His concept, for instance, of the apostolic kerygma appeared to be accepted without much comment. It would be some years yet before Scotland would comprehend how much Dodd had really affected its scholars.

Besides these major influences and the changes incurred by them, there were other important developments in Scottish Biblical scholarship. Basic approaches to Pauline and Johannine studies were under considerable transformation. More practical issues like the secularization of culture, the new findings of science, and the ethics of politics and war were creating serious difficulties for the interpreters of the Bible. American theologians, B. S. Easton and Reinhold Niebuhr, were also popular. Because of the limits of this study, these can only be mentioned.

A few observations and then we shall move on. First, there was a general trend in Scottish academic circles which operated throughout this period. It can best be described as a steady movement away from the more subjective and personal aspects of Biblical interpretation and toward the more objective ones. The days of a book like A. B. Bruce's The Training of the Twelve were long since passed. Increasingly, the Bible was being scrutinized according to scientific and technical exegetical methods. The gradual acceptance and the usage of form

criticism gives evidence to this. Even Barth affirmed the usage of historical and literary critical methods, but also noted that they were not enough to discover the Word of God. Slowly, but surely, the authorative exegesis of Biblical subject matter was becoming the task of an expert. Although the Scottish Biblical scholars did not yield completely to this trend, they were definitely affected by it.

Second, there was an accompanying devaluation of the more subjective aspects of Biblical interpretation. Under the growing influence of critical scholarship, the more experiential or devotional side was viewed with skepticism. Psychologizing about the inner thoughts of a Biblical character based upon one's own religious experience was becoming taboo. Biblical scholars were to present as best as possible the facts. Here again, the Scottish Biblical scholars did not succumb completely to this trend, but it did affect their work.

Third, and not out of keeping with these two, was the trend toward perceiving the Bible to be a human document written by humans. The day of viewing the Bible as essentially different from other literature was over. Both the work of the Barthians and the form critics held this as one of their basic presuppositions. Because it was a human document, all the canons of criticism may rightly be applied to it. Even though God could speak through the words of Scripture by the power of His indwelling Spirit, the Bible remained a human document. This was not so much articulated in Scottish scholarship as it was simply operative.

Fourth, because of this growing perception about the nature of the Bible, there was a trend toward investigating the more or less human background of the Scriptures. The realization that the Bible was written a long time ago in a completely different age and culture was causing a renewed interest in this earlier period. The social situation of the primitive community, its world-view, and the influences upon it by other cultures and religions were the focus of much scholarly work. This shows up especially in the studies conducted by the form critics and C. H. Dodd. In Scotland, this trend is less pronounced than it was in Germany, but it does appear in the works of W. Manson and G. S. Duncan.

This was a time of many new developments within the field of Scottish Biblical interpretation. The older liberal theology and its interpretative criteria were fading. They were being replaced by the theological perspectives of Karl Barth. New tools for investigating the Scriptures were causing scholars to take a fresh look at Biblical material. Results founded by these new tools were causing a good deal of discussion. Although there was a certain hesitancy in Scottish academe to yield whole-heartedly to these current trends, the work of Scottish scholars was significantly changed within this period.

Chapter Six

Developments in Biblical Interpretation Within Scottish Academic Scholarship From 1940 to the Early 1960s

The intent of this chapter will be to complete the task begun in Chapter Four and continued in Chapter Five. It will be to report and examine some of the developments in the field of Biblical interpretation found within Scottish academic scholarship. This survey will cover the time period from 1940 to the early 1960s. Moreover, it will focus upon those developments which had a widespread impact and popular appeal and which are, therefore, particularly relevant to this study.

During this period, there are again few secondary sources which report the developments in Biblical interpretation specific to the Scottish academic scene. Since this is so, the procedure followed in the previous chapter will again be employed in this chapter. As before, The Expository Times will be utilized to set the overall agenda with other primary and secondary sources referred to when it is deemed necessary.

It must be noted at the outset that after the Second World War, The Expository Times had some competition from a few new periodicals. One thinks here especially of the Scottish Journal of Theology which began in 1948 and New Testament Studies which began in 1954. Despite the fact that these two journals attracted articles by Scottish Biblical scholars and theologians, they were composed primarily for

the specialist and not particularly for preachers and students. Since The Expository Times continued to be a popular periodical intended for both scholars and preachers, it will be used as the primary resource for this chapter. These other periodicals will be referred to when it is important to do so.

As for ending this survey in the early 1960s, this choice was made for two reasons. First and foremost, completing the survey at this point will provide more than adequate material for the necessities of this study. Second, the early 1960s are a natural stopping point since they proved to be an era of some new directions for Biblical scholarship.[1] Some of these new directions have yet to reach their destinations. It is, therefore, difficult to assess their influence and effects upon Scottish Biblical scholarship. It is for these two reasons that this survey will conclude in the early 1960s.

Continuing Influences

The period during the Second World War and shortly thereafter was a somewhat quiet time for developments in Scottish academic Biblical scholarship. The practical concerns and inevitable issues raised by such a holocaust seemed to overshadow almost everything else. Moreover, paper was in short supply, and the number of books published was greatly reduced. Even The Expository Times was shrunk to about

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[1] J. Macquarrie, Twentieth Century Religious Thought, p. 377.

half of its pre-war size. After the war ended, the books began again to be published. Even so, the recovery was gradual.

During the war, the crisis of humankind engaged in battle caused most Scottish Biblical scholars and theologians to address related practical issues. For instance, in The Expository Times, a series of fifteen articles was aimed at "Reconstruction Problems."[1] Furthermore, eighteen articles were dedicated to discussing the "New Order,"[2] and an additional five were given to considering the dilemma of "Reconciliation and Reality."[3] Moreover, a significant number of books were also aimed at practical issues. For example, G. H. C. MacGregor wrote a reply to Reinhold Niebuhr's views on peace and war.[4] Again, John Baillie addressed his 1945 Riddell Lectures to a vision of Christian civilization.[5] Although there were some volumes published with less of a practical nature, the majority were focused upon issues related to the war.

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[1]See E.T., "Reconstruction Problems," Vols. 53 and 54, pp. 47f, 86f, 127f, 157f, 196f, 221f, 253f, 284f, 312f, 332f, 360f // 22f, 61f, 90f, 116f respectively.

[2]See E.T., "The New Order," Vols. 55, 56 and 57, pp. 173f, 200f, 232f, 257f, 285f // 5f, 33f, 62f, 89f, 117f, 145f, 172f, 200f, 256f, 285f // 10f, 164f respectively.

[3]See E.T., "Reconciliation and Reality," Vol. 57, pp. 4f, 33f, 59f, 87f, 116f.

[4]G. H. C. MacGregor, The Relevance of the Impossible: A reply to Reinhold Niebuhr (London, The Fellowship of Reconciliation, 1941).

[5]John Baillie, What Is Christian Civilization? (London, Oxford University Press, 1945).

Despite this overall tendency, there were a few areas of discussion that arose during the war and, because they were continued afterwards, are worthy of being noted. First, form criticism kept on being talked about. In these discussions, those who tended to be critical were continuing to lose ground to those who used it conservatively. Second, certain viewpoints set forward by Barth, like his criticisms of human reason, humanism, and natural religion also continued to evoke controversy. In these articles, Barth is taken quite seriously and considered to be a theological authority. Third, A. M. Hunter's call for a more synthetic approach to New Testament studies, that is, an approach which seeks the unity not the particularity of the various parts of the New Testament, seems to have elicited a response.[1] A closer look at each of these would help to clarify some of the developments in Scottish Biblical scholarship during the decade from 1940 to 1950.

i. Form Criticism

Even though form criticism was slowly becoming acceptable within British academic circles, there were as yet some questions to be answered. Was form criticism simply a passing trend? This question was taken up by F. J. Babcock and answered in the affirmative.[2] He

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[1]It is important to note that A. M. Hunter was Professor of Biblical Criticism at the University of Aberdeen from 1945-1971.

[2]F. J. Babcock, "Form Criticism," in E.T., Vol. 53, October 1941, pp. 16-20.

asserted that form criticism would soon disappear.[1] This conjecture was rebutted by R. H. Lightfoot who attempted "to show why the whole basis of form criticism seems to me unlikely to dissolve and vanish in a short time."[2] Even as this argument was going on, Allan Barr was assuming and had integrated the work of the form critics in his article on the parables.[3]

Another question which had to be answered was about the plausibility of writing a life of Christ. In the light of the recent work of the form critics, was it still possible to write a life of Christ? This question was taken up in a series of articles. The first was written by Vincent Taylor. He claimed that a "life" could still be written, but due to "a subtle kind of intellectual and spiritual sloth," this task was not being pursued by British scholars.[4] He claimed that this hesitancy was created by the work of the radical claims of continental form criticism[5] and the fear of revealing one's true self.[6]

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[1]Ibid., p. 20.

[2]R. H. Lightfoot, "Form Criticism and Gospel Study," in E.T., Vol. 53, November 1941, p. 51.

[3]Allan Barr, "The Interpretation of the Parables," in E.T., Vol. 53, October 1941, pp. 20-25. Allan Barr was Professor of New Testament at the Scottish Congregational College during this period.

[4]Vincent Taylor, "Is It Possible to Write a Life of Christ?" in E.T., Vol. 53, November 1941, p. 62.

[5]Ibid., p. 61.

[6]Ibid., p. 62.

> "Important, however, these judgments are, they are opinions and not more. No one has built upon them. The universities of Great Britain are silent. No one apparently has the knowledge, imagination, and, above all, the courage to face failure in the attempt to re-tell the Story of Stories to a dying world. We discuss everything and construct nothing. Some of us prefer to debate Pacifism, Communism, and Psychotherapy. We do not weave our critical views into a connected whole, and say: 'That is the Story as I see it. Make of it what you will.'"[1]

He, then, goes on to discuss some of the problems related to writing a "life," but he still strongly maintains its feasibility and necessity.

In another article of this series, C. J. Cadoux takes a more middle position, but he does, nonetheless, believe that a life of Christ can be composed.[2] Even though he takes his stand with those who are "profoundly dubious of the value of Form-Criticism," he does value some of its suppositions.[3] At the end of his article, he notes:

> "Summing up, then, I do not concur in the modern view that it is impossible to write a life of Christ, though I recognize that any such life must suffer from the limitation and particular character of the records. I have tried to indicate the principles on which the work ought to be undertaken."[4]

These principles of which he speaks are somewhat more limiting than those of Taylor and somewhat more aligned with those of the form critics.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] C. J. Cadoux, "Is It Possible to Write a Life of Christ: A Second Answer," in E.T., Vol. 53, February 1942, pp. 175-177.

[3] Ibid., p. 177.

[4] Ibid.

In still a third article, T. W. Manson takes a position even closer to the form critics.[1] He notes the severe limits placed upon such a "life" by the nature of the available materials.[2] With the form critics, he declares that a "full-dress biography is an impossibility."[3] He writes:

> "We have not enough material for a biography of Jesus, nor even for a complete narrative of the ministry. The materials at our disposal are, however, sufficient for a more limited enterprise."[4]

Within the context of this more limited enterprise, he admits the necessity of employing form criticism along with the other types of criticism in order to fathom out the meaning of a specific passage.[5] He particularly stresses the advantages of re-constructing the Sitz im Leben of the early church as an aid to interpretation. Although Manson does not go as far as the radical form critics, he is much closer to their views than either Taylor or Cadoux.

The discussion about the possibility of writing a life of Christ is important because it illustrates not only the influence of form criticism but also an overall trend. Biblical studies were continuing to move toward more complex and specialized methods of

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[1] T. W. Manson, "Is It Possible to Write a Life of Christ?" in E.T., Vol. 53, May 1942, pp. 248-251.

[2] Ibid., pp. 248-249.

[3] Ibid., p. 250.

[4] Ibid., p. 251.

[5] Ibid., p. 249.

investigation.[1] A life of Christ, like T. R. Glover's, which employed creative imagination to fill up the blank spots in the narratives, was becoming an extinct species.[2] Vincent Taylor's high challenge would go essentially unheeded for now. More technical and specialized studies like T. W. Manson's on the teachings of Jesus and C. H. Dodd's on the parables of the kingdom were replacing the more generalized lives of Christ.[3] In one way, the growing credibility of form criticism was only a part of an overall trend. Through the period from 1940 to 1950, form criticism would continue to have a significant effect on British Biblical scholarship, so much so, that by the early 1950s a whole new look would be taken at the work of Rudolf Bultmann.

ii. The Theology of Karl Barth

Another ongoing influence during this time was again the work of Karl Barth. Controversy continued to surround his work. In his

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[1]One thinks here especially of the work of Matthew Black. His work on the Aramaic element in the Gospels was quite specialized and complex. See Matthew Black, "The Problem of the Aramaic Element in the Gospels," in E.T., Vol. 59, April 1948, pp. 171-176. See also Matthew Black, An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts (London, Oxford University Press, 1946).

[2]T. R. Glover, The Jesus of History (London, SCM Press, 1917).

[3]See T. W. Manson, The Sayings of Jesus (London, SCM Press, 1949). This was first issued in H. D. A. Major, ed., The Mission and Message of Jesus (London, Ivor Nicholson and Watson, 1937), Part II. Also T. W. Manson, The Teachings of Jesus (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1931). Also C. H. Dodd, The Parables of the Kingdom.

article, George S. Hendry maintains a Barthian position while attacking some of the arguments put forward by John Baillie in his Invitation to Pilgrimage.[1] Apparently, Baillie made some critical remarks about the Barthian school's understanding of human reason.[2] Baillie claims that their approach makes faith and reason irreconcilable enemies and that they are in essence preaching irrationalism.[3]

Hendry's response to these claims was somewhat negative. He notes that "Baillie adduces no evidence from the writings of these theologians to support his charge."[4] He also charges that Baillie "misrepresents their true position to the point of caricature."[5] After Hendry quotes from Brunner and Barth demonstrating that they do not require a "sacrificium intellectus," he turns to the attack.

Hendry asserts that Baillie has misunderstood a point that is obvious to any student of Barthian theology.[6] He writes:

> "The main concern of theologians of this school (Barthian) is a positive one: it is not to deny the human reason, but to affirm the power of the Holy Spirit to renew the mind and enable it to apprehend the things of God. Does Dr. Baillie suggest that the human reason can be led to know the things of God by any means other than the Spirit of God?"[7]

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[1]George S. Hendry, "Human Reason and the Holy Spirit," in E.T., Vol. 54, March 1943, pp. 155-156.

[2]John Baillie, Invitation to Pilgrimage (London, Oxford University Press, 1942), pp. 33-36.

[3]Ibid., p. 34.

[4]George S. Hendry, "Human Reason and the Holy Spirit," p. 155.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Ibid., p. 156.

[7]Ibid.

Continuing along these lines, Hendry claims that Baillie does not allow for the office of the Holy Spirit and attempts to create conviction by argument. This he believes leads Baillie's apologetic to be rationalistic.

Adjoining Hendry's article is a rebuttal by Baillie.[1] Herein, he acknowledges that Barthian theologians have much to teach, but he believes that they have been caught up in the recent "wave of contemporary irrationalism."[2] He states:

> "To my mind the theologian of today has to be fighting at the same time on two fronts - against the still powerful though somewhat receding forces of humanistic rationalism, and against the rapidly advancing forces of dogmatic irrationalism"[3]

For Baillie, the Barthians had taken upon themselves the language of dogmatic assertion not unlike that of the "totalitarian propagandists" whom they staunchly oppose.

These arguments and others like them continued throughout this period. For instance, E. P. Dickie was convinced that Barthian theology has obscured certain issues related to the aloneness of God and the nothingness of man.[4] He wrote:

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[1]John Baillie, "A Brief Rejoinder to Mr. Hendry's Note," in E.T., Vol. 54, March 1943, pp. 156-157.

[2]Ibid., p. 157.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Edgar P. Dickie, The Obedience of a Christian Man (London, SCM Press, 1944), p. 17.

> "The Barthian does less than justice to the familiar experience of gradual growth in grace, and can scarcely acknowledge that slow maturing of insight which learns to find God in life with all its circumstances. He fails to see the absurdity of supposing that the natural world (the creation of God) and the history of man (God's deep concern) should be able to conceal, from honest seekers, all reliable traces of God Himself."[1]

Dickie believed that Barthians distorted the nature of God by stressing only His transcendent and by disregarding His imminence. He also believed that the Barthians contorted the nature of man by over-emphasizing his fallenness and disregarding the creation of man in the image of God. Even so, he does admit that, in many respects, the aim of Barth and his followers is justifiable.[2]

Not only was Barth now an accepted theologian, the issues he raised, like the nature of man, were being discussed with increasing seriousness and a greater depth of complexity.[3] During this period

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[1]Ibid., p. 18.

[2]Ibid.

[3]See W. A. Whitehouse, "The Christian View of Man: An Examination of Karl Barth's Doctrine, Part I, 'The Nature of Man,'" in S.J.T., Vol. 2, n. 1., 1949, pp. 57-74, and J. B. Soucek, "Man in the Light of the Humanity of Jesus," Part II, in S.J.T., Vol. 2, n. 1., 1949, pp. 74-82. Also, see E. L. Allen, "Karl Barth on Man," in E.T., Vol. 60, May 1949, pp. 203-205. There was also a series in Vols. 60 and 61 of E.T. on the doctrine of man. Barth's work figured heavily in these articles. Finally, in published books, see N. H. G. Robinson, Faith and Duty (London, Victor Gollancz, 1950) - and David Cairns, The Image of God in Man (London, SCM Press, 1953). It is important to note that N. H. G. Robinson was Professor of Systematic Theology and then Professor of Divinity at the University of St. Andrews from 1957 to 1978.

from 1940 to the early 1950s, Barth and the other Barthians, like Emil Brunner, exerted a formidable and formative influence upon Scottish theology and divinity students. Although few Scots could be called Barthians in the strict sense of the word, there were many who were quite affected by the questions he raised and the answers he gave. In many ways, he set the agenda for theology during this period.

Barth's theological agenda was not only being criticized, it was also being propagated. Men like John McConnachie, T. F. Torrance, George S. Hendry, and G. T. Thomson continued to be his advocates publishing his views and defending him against his critics.[1] Against the background of a second World War, Barth's theology steadily grew in credibility. Those of a more liberal, humanistic, or, if one prefers, more balanced approach like E. P. Dickie or John Baillie appeared to be losing ground. By the end of the 1940s, Barth was accepted in Scottish academic circles as an established theological authority and had to be taken seriously.

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[1]See John McConnachie, "Reformation Issues Today," in F. W. Camfield, ed., Reformation Old and New: A Tribute to Karl Barth (London, Lutterworth Press, 1947), pp. 103-120. Also in this volume see T. F. Torrance, "The Word of God and the Nature of Man," pp. 121-141 and George S. Hendry, "The Rediscovery of the Bible," pp. 142-156. Also see George S. Hendry, "The Exposition of Holy Scripture," in S.J.T., Vol. 1, June 1948, pp. 29-47; John McConnachie, "The Uniqueness of the Word of God," in S.J.T., Vol. 1, September 1948, pp. 113-135; and the many other articles on Barth's theology in these first two composite volumes of the S.J.T. It was noted to me by Professor James Whyte, who attended the lectures of G. T. Thomson, that he spent much time expounding Barthian theology in his divinity classroom. It is important to note that T. F. Torrance was Professor of Christian Dogmatics at the University of Edinburgh from 1952 until 1979.

iii. A. M. Hunter's Synthetic Approach

A third continuing influence which arose during the Second World War and kept on through the 1950s was the search to discover the unity of the Bible. Most likely derived from the work of C. H. Dodd, A. M. Hunter noted the growing realization in Biblical scholarship of the need to search after the unifying elements of the New Testament.[1] He wrote:

> "Anyone conversant with the most recent work on the New Testament must have sensed in it a change of approach, a change of direction. The scholars are leaving 'the circumference and the corners': they are 'bent on the centre' .... There is a growing recognition of the essential unity of the New Testament and the need of synthesis."[2]

Hunter posited that the analytical approach of modern criticism was in danger of distorting the truth by concentrating upon "contrasts, divergencies, and inconsistencies" and ignoring the foundational unities of the New Testament.[3] His plea was for Biblical scholars to join this search after the unity of the New Testament.

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[1]Evidence for this conjecture can be found in A. M. Hunter, Interpreting the New Testament 1900-1950, p. 138. He wrote, "Of this new approach we have had many examples in the last two decades." C. H. Dodd's Apostolic Preaching (1935) showed how the thread of the kerygma runs through the whole New Testament. Newton Flew's Jesus and His Church (1938) showed that all the New Testament writers shared certain basic convictions about the nature of the Church. Vincent Taylor's The Atonement in New Testament Teaching (1940) showed that, despite all varieties of approach, there was an essential unity about New Testament teaching concerning the atonement. These works were formative for his following work.

[2]A. M. Hunter, The Unity of the New Testament (London, SCM Press, 1943), p. 7. An almost identical observation is made by C. H. Dodd, The Present Task of New Testament Studies (London, Cambridge University Press, 1936),p. 35.

[3]Ibid., pp. 12-13.

In Hunter's view, the central theme of the New Testament is best described by the German concept of Heilsgeschichte. In his usage, this word means "the story of salvation;" the word "salvation" being used here in its widest sense.[1] He further postulates:

> "This Heilsgeschichte of which the New Testament speaks from beginning to end, includes many things ... but chiefly three; and these are: Christology, Ecclesiology, and Soteriology. In other words, the Heilsgeschichte treats of a Saviour, a Saved (and saving) People, and the means of Salvation. And these three are at bottom one - three strands in a single cord, a trinity in unity. For the "story" is of the consummation of God's saving purpose for his People (Ecclesiology) through the sending of his Messiah (Christology) and of the means of Salvation (Soteriology)."[2]

"Seen thus, the Bible is not only a collection of records describing the development of religious ideas among Israelites, Jews, and Christians, but also and chiefly the story of God's saving purpose for his People begun with the deliverance from Egypt, continued in his later dealings with them recorded in Old Testament history and prophecy, and consummated in the sending of his Son the Messiah."[3]

Under the category of Christology, Hunter perceives the kerygma, "the message of salvation which centres in a saviour," to be one of the unifying elements of the New Testament.[4] Like Dodd, he sees the kerygma as the proclaimed message of salvation and he, too, distinguishes kerygma from didache.[5] Going further, Hunter believes that the gospels

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[1] Ibid., p. 9.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., p. 10.

[4] Ibid., p. 20.

[5] Ibid., p. 21.

are not biographies but "expanded forms of the kerygma."[1] He gathers support for this contention by citing the work of the form critics.[2] He sums up by stating: "We are in quest of unity in the New Testament; and here in the kerygma we have found an excellent example of it. Through the variegated fabric of the New Testament now clear and conspicuous, now veiled and hidden, runs the golden thread of the kerygma."[3]

These theses here expounded by Hunter were again stated in his Honorary President's Address to the New College Theological Society in October of 1944 and later published in full.[4] Furthermore, these theses formed the foundation for his introduction to the New Testament.[5] In 1947, the editors of The Expository Times responded to Hunter's plea by printing a series of articles on the unity of the New Testament.[6] Hunter was asked to give an article on the kerygma.[7] As a Scottish

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[1]Ibid., p. 26.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid., p. 30.

[4]A. M. Hunter, "The Study of the New Testament," in E.T., Vol. 56, July 1945, pp. 265-269.

[5]A. M. Hunter, Introducing the New Testament (London, SCM Press, 1945). See, especially, pp. 23-26 on the kerygma.

[6]See A. E. J. Rawlinson, "The Doctrine of Christ," in E.T., Vol. 58, May 1947, pp. 200-203; V. Taylor, "The Doctrine of the Atonement," in E.T., Vol. 58, July 1947, pp. 256-159; T. W. Manson, "New Testament Ethics," in E.T., Vol. 58, August 1947, pp. 284-287; A. Raymond George, "The Doctrine of the Church," in E.T., Vol. 58, September 1947, pp. 312-316.

[7]A. M. Hunter, "The Kerygma," in E.T., Vol. 58, June 1947, pp. 228-231.

professor and a popular writer, his ideas would have influenced many Scottish divinity students and preachers.

iv. Biblical Theology

In a qualified sense, Hunter had identified a particular movement in Biblical studies which would continue to be influential throughout this entire period from 1940 to the early 1960s. By most commentators, this movement has been called "Biblical Theology." Even though this label is somewhat ambiguous and describes an amorphous movement,[1] it does signify a direction in Biblical studies that had its heyday in the 1940s and 1950s.[2] One of the basic convictions shared by most of the members of this movement was that the Bible was an essential unity perceived in terms of overarching themes and constructs. This is clearly exemplified in Hunter's Introducing New Testament Theology.

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[1]A. Richardson, "Biblical Theology," in A. Richardson, ed., A Dictionary of Christian Theology (London, SCM Press, 1969), p. 36. See also Brevard S. Childs, Biblical Theology in Crisis, pp. 13-87.

[2]J. L. Houlden, "Biblical Theology," in A. Richardson and J. Bowden, eds., A New Dictionary of Christian Theology (London, SCM Press, 1983), pp. 69-71. See also James Smart, The Past, Present and Future of Biblical Theology (Philadelphia, Westminster Press, 1970), pp. 18-49. Smart's critiques of Childs' calender for the rise and fall of a Biblical Theology movement are well taken, but to say there was a resurgence of interest within this general field during the 1940s and 1950s is not without foundation. That it died in the mid 1960s as Childs speculates is simply wrong.

Two influential theologians often associated with this trend in Biblical studies were O. Cullmann and E. Stauffer.[1] Their approaches were summed up as follows:

> "Stauffer and Cullmann have laid stress upon the concept of Heilsgeschichte or 'redemptive history,' which they took to be the unifying motif of not only the New Testament but the entire Bible. This is to say, within the stream of general or secular history there is a stratum of history which bears specifically upon God's activity among men for their salvation. Of the events of the Old Testament, the great saving event is the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt, and supremely the saving event of the New Testament is the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. It is the contention of Cullmann and Stauffer that this biblical idea of time and history is both a recovery of an ancient idea in the church and promises the New Testament, if not the entire Bible."[2]

Their work was carefully followed and reported in The Expository Times.[3] It also appeared in the works of Scottish Biblical scholars like A. M. Hunter and Hugh Anderson.[4]

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[1]Oscar Cullmann, Christ and Time: The Primitive Christian Conception of Time and History, trans. F. V. Filson (London, SCM Press, 1951); and The Christology of the New Testament, trans. S. C. Guthrie and C. A. M. Hall (London, SCM Press, 1959). Also see Ethelbert Stauffer, New Testament Theology, trans. John Marsh (London, SCM Press, 1955).

[2]D. H. Wallace, "Biblical Theology: Past and Future," in Theologische Zeitschrift, Jahrgang 19, März-April 1963, pp. 88-105.

[3]See, for example, C. K. Barrett, "Important and Influential Foreign Books: Cullmann's 'Christ and Time,'" in E.T., Vol. 65, September 1954, pp. 369-372; and V. Taylor, "Professor Oscar Cullmann's 'Die Christologie des Neuen Testaments,'" in E.T., Vol. 70, February 1956, pp. 136-140; and A. M. Hunter, "New Testament Theology," in E.T., Vol. 67, October 1955, pp. 8-9.

[4]See A. M. Hunter, Introducing New Testament Theology, pp. 8, 9, 72; and Hugh Anderson, Jesus and Christian Origins; A Commentary on Modern Viewpoints (New York, Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 134-143.

In some ways, Biblical Theology would seem to have encouraged a renewed interest in typology. Take, for instance, the essays written by Gerhard von Rad and Walther Eichrodt.[1] More specifically, the editors of the Studies in Biblical Theology series thought it propitious to include two essays on typology.[2] Re-investigating typological exegesis appeared to have been a natural direction since the search was to discover the unity of the whole Bible.[3] This resurgence of interest in typology seems to have appeared and then disappeared rather quickly.[4]

Before concluding, one more observation. Other Scottish Biblical scholars than those already mentioned demonstrated an interest in Biblical theology. As Childs notes:

> "In the same way in Scotland, the leading Biblical scholars reflected the newer interest in Biblical theology ... Norman Porteous, William Manson, and James Stewart all of Edinburgh, were typical of the Scottish attitude."[5]

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[1]G. von Rad, "Typological Interpretation of the Old Testament," and W. Eichrodt, "Is Typological Exegesis an Appropriate Method," in C. Westermann, ed., Essays on Old Testament Interpretation, J. L. Mays, trans., (London, SCM Press, 1960 German edition; 1963 English edition), pp 17-39 and 224-245 respectively.

[2]G. W. H. Lampe and K. J. Woollcombe, Essays on Typology (London, SCM Press, 1957).

[3]For a more detailed analysis of the renewed interest in typology, see James Barr, Old and New in Interpretation (London, SCM Press, 1966), pp. 103-148.

[4]B. Childs, Biblical Theology in Crisis, pp. 67-70.

[5]Ibid., p. 24.

Although none of these men followed any particular Biblical theologian, they were in their own rights Biblical theologians.[1] The close relationship between scripture and theology has a long history in Scottish academic scholarship.[2]

v. Summary

Summing up, John Macleod notes what he believed were four distinctive developments in the theology of this time.[3] First, he believed there was a change of emphasis from the Divine Immanence to the Divine Transcendence;[4] an emphasis, however, which he warned may be so exaggerated as to deny any use of human reason in connection with revelation.[5] Here, one perceives the influence of Barthian theology and the continued discussion surrounding it.

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[1]Norman W. Porteous, Living the Mystery: Collected Essays (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1967). W. Manson, Jesus and the Christian (London, James Clarke, 1967). J. S. Stewart, A Faith to Proclaim. J. S. Stewart was Professor of New Testament Language, Literature and Theology at New College from 1947 to 1966, and N. W. Porteous was Professor of Hebrew and Semitic Languages at New College from 1937 to 1968.

[2]One thinks here of A. B. Davidson, A. B. Bruce, and James Denney.

[3]John Macleod, "Theology in Our Era," in The Hibbert Journal, Vol. 49, No. 4, July 1951, pp. 356-361. John Macleod was Professor of Christian Dogmatics at the University of Aberdeen from 1938 to 1961.

[4]Ibid., pp. 356-357.

[5]Ibid., p. 357.

Second, he claims there is a revival of the idea of Biblical Theology which utilizes the Bible not as a library of variegated religious material, but as an authoritative unity giving a consistent pattern of thought about God's encounter with mankind.[1] The truth of this encounter does not require being disentangled and extracted from the ancient records in which it is embedded. It is actually given in the Scriptural record of and reflection upon God's action in history. Here one thinks of the work of scholars like Hunter.

Third, he identifies a tendency to give up the attempt to make any picture of the historical Jesus.[2] He notes that while retaining in some sense the claim of Christianity to be founded upon the historical fact of the Incarnation, most scholars are abandoning attempts to write a life of Christ and are content to emphasize the fact that from the beginning the Christian witness is to the Christ of faith.[3] Here, one thinks of the influence of Rudolf Bultmann and form criticism.

Lastly, he notes that the modern stress on the social aspects of Christianity has encouraged new attempts to formulate a doctrine of

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[1]Ibid., pp. 357-358.

[2]Ibid., pp. 358-359.

[3]Ibid., p. 359. Here, Macleod quotes with his approval D. M. Baillie's warning that it cannot be a stable position to have "such an emphasis upon the incursion of the Divine into human life once for all in Christ Jesus that it has no interest in studying the resultant life as an historical phenomenon." D. M. Baillie, God Was in Christ (London, Faber and Faber, 1948), p. 53.

man and a philosophy of history and to reach an operative understanding of the Catholicity of the Church.[1] Here again, one recalls the many discussions about the doctrine of man provoked by Barthian theology in Scottish academic scholarship as well as the questions raised by form criticism regarding the understanding of history.

The Ecumenical Study Conference at Wadham College

Also during this period from 1940 through the early 1950s, as was mentioned in Macleod's article, there was a resurgence of interest in reaching an operative idea of the Catholicity of the Church.[2] This was the era which witnessed the advent of the World Council of Churches in August of 1948.[3] The decision to form such a body began in 1937 when the Life and Work Movement held a conference in Oxford, and the Faith and Order Movement one in Edinburgh. Each conference closed with a resolution in favor of a World Council of Churches. The clouds over Europe and the outbreak of the war made immediate progress difficult. A Provisional Committee was appointed and took responsibility until in 1948 it was possible to hold the first Assembly in Amsterdam.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 360-361.

[2] Ibid.

[3] W. A. Visser 'T Hooft, "The Genesis of the World Council of Churches," in R. Rouse and S. C. Neill, eds., A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517-1948 (London, SPCK, 1954), pp. 708-720.

Interestingly enough, in attempting to fathom out this operative idea of Catholicity, there were some surprising concurrences. One of these happened at the Ecumenical Study Conference held at Wadham College, Oxford, in the summer of 1949. As was recorded by the members,

> "Our conference has endeavoured, on the basis of earlier conferences, to develop specific principles of interpretation, for the use of the Bible in relation to social and political questions. The Christian's authority lies in the will of God. It is agreed that the Bible stands in a unique position in mediating that will to us. In our study together we have used Jer. 7:1-15 as a test case in discovering the extent of agreement in the application of hermeneutical principles. We have found a measure of agreement that surprised us all."[1]

Because of the degree of concurrence associated with this document, a closer look at the agreed upon principles of Biblical interpretation will be illuminating.

The document is divided into four parts: (I) the necessary theological presuppositions of Biblical interpretation; (II) the interpretation of a specific passage; (III) the discovery of the Biblical teaching on a specific social or political issue; and (IV) the application of the Biblical message to the modern world. The basic format is one of exegesis, exposition, and application.

Under the category of necessary theological presuppositions, the Bible, they agreed, is to be regarded as the "starting point" for it is here that God's Word confronts mankind.[2] It was also held that the unity of the Bible was to be found "in the ongoing redemptive

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[1]Alan Richardson and W. Schweitzer, eds., Biblical Authority for Today: A World Council of Churches Symposium on "The Biblical Authority for the Churches' Social and Political Message Today (London, SCM Press, 1951), p. 240. This was a reprint.

[2]Ibid.

activity of God in history of one people reaching its fulfillment in Christ,"[1] and that "the primary message of the Bible concerns God's gracious and redemptive activity for the saving of the sinful."[2] Furthermore, Jesus Christ is to be understood as "the center and goal of the whole Bible."[3]

Continuing under the category of necessary theological presuppositions, they further agreed that the starting place of the Christian interpreter was within the redeemed community and that allegorical interpretations were arbitrary and "a disservice to the proper recognition of Biblical authority."[4] As a final contention, they claimed that although the various participants may disagree about the manner in which tradition, reason, and natural law may be employed within the interpretation of the Bible, "any teaching that clearly contradicts the Biblical position cannot be accepted as Christian."[5]

Under the heading of the interpretation of a specific passage, it was agreed that the interpreter starts from an "historical and critical examination of the passage."[6] They believed this should include:

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[1]Ibid., p. 241.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid., p. 240.

[4]Ibid., p. 241.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Ibid., p. 241.

"1. The determination of the text;
2. The literary form of the passage;
3. The historical situation, the Sitz im Leben;
4. The meaning which the words had for the original author and hearer or reader;
5. The understanding of the passage in the light of its total context and the background out of which it emerged."[1]

In addition, the Old Testament was to be understood in the light of the New and vice versa.[2]

Under the section titled "The discovery of the Biblical teaching on a specific social or political issue,"[3] it was first noted that:

> "It is agreed that one must begin with a direct study of the Biblical text in relation to a given problem; otherwise the general principles which we establish will reflect more the presuppositions of our time than the message of the Bible. Only then may we safely deduce applications for our own situation."[4]

Again, it was stated that the Old Testament evidence was to be employed as well as and in conjunction with the evidence of the New Testament.[5]

In the final section called "The Application of the Biblical message to the modern world,"[6] it was recorded that:

> "It is agreed that if we are to receive the guidance of the Holy Spirit through the Scriptures, we must discover the degree to which our particular situation is similar to that which the Bible presents. It must be remembered that absolute identity of situation is never found, and therefore the problem of adaptation becomes acute.

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[1]Ibid., pp. 241-242.

[2]Ibid., p. 242.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Ibid., p. 243.

> Nevertheless in each new situation we must allow ourselves to be guided by the Bible to a knowledge of the will of God."[1]

This agreement also included the belief that the Bible speaks not only to the Church but through the Church to the world and that "the Bible leads us back to the living word of God."[2]

It is not simply the surprising concurrences that make this document illuminating. It is also what it reveals about Biblical interpretation, not only in Scotland but elsewhere as well. This document was designed not only by N. W. Porteous and T. F. Torrance but by C. H. Dodd, Alan Richardson, A. Nygren, W. Eichrodt, G. E. Wright, and others from around the globe.[3] In leaving us this document, these men have given us some unique insights into how scholars of this period set about the task of interpreting the Bible. It is like a still frame from an ongoing documentary film. Some of the basic pre-suppositions and suppositions inherent within their interpretative work, which would have not been specifically discussed elsewhere, are here left behind for further investigation. Almost without awareness of it, these presuppositions and suppositions would have filtered down through their work and teachings to their students.

This document deserves a much fuller examination than can be afforded here, but, for the purposes of this study, it can be maintained that this document reveals:

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., pp. 243-244.

1. the continuing influence of Barthian theology, form critical studies, and Biblical theology;
2. a widely shared, technical method of exegesis which would require specialized academic training;
3. an orderly, linear interpretative method which proceeds from a more or less scientific and objective approach to exegesis, through an exposition stage in which both the evidence of the Old and New Testaments are considered important, to an application phase in which parallelism of situations between the Biblical subject matter and the modern predicament is essential;
4. a curious lack of reference to the more personal and subjective aspects of interpretation;
5. and a rejection of allegory and a suspicion of the presuppositions of our time as a danger to the proper interpretation of the Bible.

All of that which this document reveals about how scholars of this period went about the task of Biblical interpretation points in a certain overall direction.

Compared say with the time before the Great War, doing Biblical interpretation within scholarly circles was now becoming an increasingly complex and specialized endeavor. The sort of exegesis they espoused was primarily an objective and technical process requiring specialized academic skills. The overall interpretative approach was scientific, linear, and focused upon the more objective aspects. Although within the application phase parallelism of situation could never be absolute,

it was to be as close as possible. References to the more subjective aspects are curiously lacking. In fact, the presuppositions of our time are looked upon with suspicion. Remembering back to the period before the wars and comparing their interpretative methods with that described within this document, it reveals a movement toward increased complexity, a greater degree of specialization, and more objectivity within interpretative method. The surprising amount of concurrence only serves to confirm the widespread acceptance of this particular interpretative method.

The Bultmann Controversy

Turning now to the period between the early 1950s and the early 1960s, without a doubt, the leading controversy of this time surrounded the theological work of Rudolf Bultmann. His understanding of New Testament theology and his programme of demythologizing caused many a heated argument. Despite the initial negative reactions, Bultmann's work steadily grew in credibility within Scottish academic circles. Although there were no Scottish professors who could be called full-fledged followers of Bultmann, there were some who were at least sympathetic. Because of the sympathy of some and the antipathy of others, Bultmann's theological work produced a significant amount of discussion both inside and outside the divinity classroom.

As told by The Expository Times, the trajectory of the controversy proceeds as follows. Between the years of 1940 and 1951, Bultmann's theological work receives little significant attention. In 1952, his

Theology of the New Testament (Volume One) was translated into English.[1] Also in that year, Ian Henderson wrote a monograph which reported the contents of his essay entitled "Neues Testament und Mythologie" and which also noted the various criticism and replies to this essay.[2] This year marks a resurgence of interest in Bultmann's work. In 1953, with the publication of Kerygma and Myth (Volume One) his programme for New Testament interpretation took centre stage.[3] A decade later his work was still commending careful consideration and evoking vociferous condemnation.

When Bultmann's Theology of the New Testament, Volume One, was initially reviewed it met with harsh criticism. In a lengthy review, his work received scathing critiques which were, in general, uncharacteristic of this periodical.[4] As the reviewer wrote:

> "But there is a scepticism which by its sheer extremeness overreaches itself and alienates the sympathy of reasonable men. And this kind of scepticism, alas, spoils Bultmann's book at the very beginning."[5]

The reviewer then goes on to register several more criticisms before he notes that the book is not quite valueless.

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[1] Rudolf Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, Vol. I, trans. by Kendrick Grobel (London, SCM Press, 1952).

[2] Ian Henderson, Myth in the New Testament (London, SCM Press, 1952). It is important to note that Ian Henderson was Professor of Systematic Theology at the University of Glasgow from 1948 to 1969.

[3] Hans Werner Bartsch, ed. Kerygma and Myth: A Theological Debate, Vol. I, trans. by R. H. Fuller (London, SPCK Press, 1953).

[4] "Notes of Recent Exposition," in E.T., Vol. 64, January 1953, pp. 97-98.

[5] Ibid., p. 97.

Within the same issue, A. M. Hunter wrote a review of Ian Henderson's monograph.[1] Essentially, the publication of this monograph marks the beginning of the demythologizing debate in Scotland. Although Henderson's aim was simply to report upon the debate and not to take sides, this was not the tenor of Hunter's review. His review is appreciative of Bultmann's motives but critical of his method. He admits that the question of New Testament mythology is of capital importance but he criticizes the way Bultmann attempts to interpret all these myths existentially.

In the next year, the controversy surrounding Bultmann's programme of demythologizing comes to the forefront in The Expository Times. His essay in Kerygma and Myth received considerable attention.[2] Bultmann himself submitted a two-part article further explaining his position.[3] Even some of his older works like Jesus and the Word were now being considered as important and influential.[4] Vincent Taylor suggested that "the time is ripe for a more detailed analysis and a more penetrating study of his writings."[5] In one article, Ian Henderson notes, "interest in the

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[1]A. M. Hunter, "Myth in the New Testament," in E.T., Vol. 64, January 1953, p. 102.

[2]For example, see "Notes of Recent Exposition," in E.T., Vol. 65, January 1954, pp. 97-98.

[3]Rudolf Bultmann, "The Christian Hope and the Problem of Demythologizing," in E.T., Vol. 65, Part I, May 1954, pp. 228-230; and Part II, June 1954, pp. 276-278.

[4]Vincent Taylor, "Important and Influential Foreign Books," in E.T., Vol. 65, March 1954, p. 167.

[5]Ibid.

Entymythologisierung controversy shows no signs of abating and has, in fact, spread beyond the ranks of the New Testament scholars and theologians to the philosophers."[1] During this year, Bultmann's theological work had entered onto centre stage.

What, then, was Bultmann's intention, and how were the various Scottish New Testament scholars and theologians reacting to it?[2] Firstly, Bultmann's programme of demythologizing is as follows. He believed that the content of the New Testament comes to us encased in myths of Jewish apocalyptic and Gnostic origin. These myths are no longer comprehensible by modern people whose thinking has been moulded by science. He gives as an obvious example the three-tiered theory of the cosmos. In order to make the New Testament understandable, these myths need to be re-interpreted. For Bultmann, the way to re-interpret these myths is by employing the categories of Heidegger's existentialism. By interpreting these myths existentially, the New Testament can be thus demythologized and made understandable to modern people.

Bultmann considered myth to be "the use of imagery to express the otherworldly in terms of this world and the divine in terms of

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[1] Ian Henderson, "Karl Jaspers and Demythologizing," in E.T., Vol. 65, July 1954, pp. 291-293.

[2] Here, the discussion will be limited solely to Bultmann's programme of demythologizing. His other New Testament work including his theories about New Testament theology, his textual and philological work, and his various other essays provide too much discussion to be adequately covered herein.

human life, the other side in terms of this side."[1] Besides the three-tiered concept of the cosmos, he believed that the conception of Christ's pre-existence, the Cross as a sacrifice for sins, the miracle of Jesus, the theory of demon possession, the physical resurrection of Christ's body, and the Holy Spirit conceived as a quasi-natural force were all myths. These would need to be understood not literally, but interpreted existentially in order to be comprehensible.

In Scottish academic circles, this programme met with mixed reactions. Conservative scholars like A. M. Hunter were quite critical. He wrote:

> "In our time the most daring proposal, that of Bultmann, has been for a demythologising of the Gospel and its re-statement in terms of Existentialism. The intention to state the Gospel in modern terms is laudable, but it is fraught with peril, the peril of corrupting the Gospel. Bultmann undertakes to give us Christianity without tears, but what he gives us is tears without Christianity. But if we reject his methods, we cannot shirk the challenge which he seeks to force." [2]

The effort to interpret the message of the New Testament so that it would be comprehensible to modern man has been an aim of Scottish Biblical scholarship since the turn of the century. Because of this, Bultmann's efforts were appreciated even by those who were highly critical.

An even more zealous critic was T. F. Torrance. He accused Bultmann of having a close kinship with Rome,[3] of subjectivism similar

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[1] R. Bultmann, Kerygma and Myth, Vol. I, p. 10n.

[2] A. M. Hunter, Introducing New Testament Theology, pp. 152-153.

[3] T. F. Torrance, Conflict and Agreement in the Church, Vol. I, Order and Disorder (London, Lutterworth Press, 1959), p. 14.

to that of Schleiermacher,[1] and of a weak and Docetic view of the humanity of the risen and ascended Jesus.[2] He further adds:

> "For all his disavowal of it, in Bultmann the Liberalism of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that set aside the Being and Person of Christ, as not of central importance, in favour of an inwardness of spirit and a modern way of life, has reasserted itself in a form that is a direct menace to the Apostolic and Catholic faith in Jesus Christ."[3]

Despite his harsh criticisms, Torrance notes that Bultmann's challenge cannot be set aside "for demythologisation has more and more point when we face the mythologisation of Roman theology, or the new mythologies of modern science."[4]

One of the more readily comprehensible critiques of Bultmann was done by David Cairns.[5] In his book A Gospel without Myth?, he attempts to enter into Bultmann's interpretative programme and to discover its weaknesses.[6] Even though his aim appears more polemic than constructive, he does value Bultmann's project of demythologizing. He notes:

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[1]T. F. Torrance, Conflict and Agreement in the Church, Vol. II, The Ministry and the Sacraments of the Gospel (London, Lutterworth Press, 1960), pp. 126-127.

[2]T. F. Torrance, Conflict and Agreement in the Church, Vol. I, pp. 100-101.

[3]Ibid., p. 14.

[4]Ibid., p. 15.

[5]It is important to note that David Cairns was Professor of Practical Theology at Christ's College, Aberdeen, from 1947 to 1972.

[6]David Cairns, A Gospel without Myth?: Bultmann's Challenge to the Preacher (London, SCM Press, 1960), pp. 11-12.

> "This does not mean, however, that the theologian, the preacher, and the evangelist can afford to disregard the project of demythologizing. Far from it. Some of the most urgent problems in theology today are connected with this project ... However powerfully the gospel may be preached today Bultmann is right in claiming that it would be intolerable to demand that, as a price of faith, believers should be asked to accept propositions that they know to be untrue."[1]

Although Cairns believes that Bultmann oversteps certain boundaries and that he has, in actuality, not resolved the problem of myth, he does acknowledge the importance of his project and some of its merits.[2]

A more neutral position as regards Bultmann's programme is taken by Ian Henderson. The role he appears to have chosen for himself is one of a clear and accurate reporter of the developments within the demythologizing debate.[3] He is careful not to take sides.[4] Even so, in his review of David Cairns' book, he is quite critical of some of Cairns' polemics and appears somewhat more inclined towards Bultmann's side.[5] Overall, Henderson seems to be more a neutral than a critic or a sympathizer.

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[1]Ibid., p. 110.

[2]Ibid., pp. 110-111.

[3]Ian Henderson, Myth in the New Testament, p. 7.

[4]See his articles: Ian Henderson, "Karl Jaspers and Demythologising," in E.T., Vol. 65, July 1954, pp. 291-293; and Ian Henderson, "Christology and History: An Issue in the Entmythologisierung Controversy," in E.T., Vol. 65, September 1954, pp. 367-369.

[5]Ian Henderson, "A Gospel Without Myth," in E.T., Vol. 72, February 1961, pp. 134-135.

A more or less sympathetic view is taken by Ronald Gregor-Smith.[1] In his 1955 Alexander Love Lectures, he does not come straight out in stating his approval of demythologizing, but he does share some of its presuppositions and its aims.[2] Furthermore, he does attempt to refute some of the more common criticisms of Bultmann's work. He denies that Bultmann is "an old-fashioned liberal in theology,"[3] that he is "abandoning the scandal of the historicity and particularity of the Incarnation,"[4] and that he throws overboard the substance of the kerygma.[5] Gregor-Smith appears to be in accord with the basic goals of some aspects of Bultmann's work, but he never directly states his approval of Bultmann's methods.

The most positive response came from John Macquarrie.[6] In two of his books published within this period, he attempts to make clear the nature and limits of Bultmann's project.[7] It is not that Macquarrie

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[1]It is important to note that Ronald Gregor-Smith was Primarius Professor of Divinity at the University of Glasgow from 1956 until 1968.

[2]Ronald Gregor-Smith, The New Man: Christianity and Man's Coming of Age (London, SCM Press, 1956), pp. 85-93.

[3]Ibid., p. 87.

[4]Ibid., p. 88.

[5]Ibid.

[6]It is important to note that John Macquarrie was Lecturer in Systematic Theology at the University of Glasgow from 1953 until 1962.

[7]John Macquarrie, An Existentialist Theology: A comparison of Heidegger and Bultmann (London, SCM Press, 1955): The Scope of Demythologising; Bultmann and his Critics (London, SCM Press, 1960). See also John Macquarrie, "Demonology and the Classic Idea of Atonement," in E.T., Vol. 68, Part I, October 1956, pp. 3-6; and Part II, November 1956, pp. 60-63.

is uncritical. He certainly does note the weaknesses he perceives in Bultmann's work. He often points out places where he believes that Bultmann's claims have exceeded the boundaries of his project, but it is clear that his critiques arise from inside and his aim is constructive not polemic.

As Bultmann himself writes of Macquarrie's book:

> "Thus he (Macquarrie) acknowledges my interpretation of the New Testament to be one that is valid in principle. He then makes a careful examination of my interpretation, and comes to the conclusion that on the one hand I make relevant and intelligible many important ideas, especially in the Pauline and Johannine writings; but that on the other hand I sometimes overstep the limits that are set to an existentialist interpretation, and that justice is not done to the transcendent reality towards which faith is directed in the New Testament."[1]

Even Bultmann admits that Macquarrie's criticisms are fair and perceptive and that he touches problematic points that will need to be cleared up in future discussion.[2]

It is evident from both The Expository Times and the number of comments given by Scottish academics that Bultmann's programme created quite a controversy. In many ways, Bultmann had set an agenda for New Testament scholars and theologians. What were they to do about elements of the New Testament which were discordant with the discoveries and tenets of modern science? What about Jesus' miracles, his pre-existence, his physical resurrection, and his cross as a sacrifice

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[1] J. Macquarrie, An Existentialist Theology, p. vii. (This is Bultmann's Foreward to the Second Edition of Macquarrie's book, 1965.)

[2] Ibid., pp. vii-viii.

for sins? What about demons and angels, the nature of the Holy Spirit, or the three-decker theory of the cosmos? Even in the works that did not discuss Bultmann's views, these were the questions of the hour.[1] Whether the Scottish academics agreed with his programme or not, Bultmann's challenge was not ignored.

New Directions

To bring this chapter to its close, some speculations about the general directions of Scottish Biblical scholarship during the 1960s are in order. Instead of aligning the various scholars with overall movements in Biblical studies, here it is only feasible to list the array of scholars and indicate something about their major area of concern. By doing this, one can at least gather some impressions about the overall directions that Scottish Biblical scholarship pursued in the 1960s.

As a general trend, the leading Scottish Biblical scholars were moving toward increased specialization and compartmentalization in their academic pursuits. This is perhaps most obvious in the published works of Matthew Black and Robert McL. Wilson.[2] Black's investigations

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[1]For an example, see E. P. Dickie, A Safe Stronghold (Wallington, The Religious Education Press, 1955).

[2]See M. Black, An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts; The Scrolls and Christian Origins (Chicago, Scholars Press, 2nd ed., 1983, 1st ed., 1961). For a bibliography down to 1968, see E. E. Ellis and Max Wilcox, eds., Neotestamentica et Semitica (Edinburgh, T. and T. Clark, 1969). Also see Robert McL. Wilson, The Gnostic Problem (London, Mowbray, 1958); Studies in the Gospel of Thomas (London, Mowbray, 1960); and Gnosis and the New Testament (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1968). Matthew Black was Professor of Biblical Criticism at St. Mary's College from 1954 until 1978, and Robert McL. Wilson was on staff in the New Testament Department of St. Mary's College from 1954 to 1983 holding a Personal Chair from 1969 to 1978, and the Chair of Biblical Criticism from 1978 to 1983.

into the Aramaic language and the Dead Sea Scrolls and Wilson's examinations of Gnostic texts grew increasingly complex throughout the nineteen-fifties, sixties, and into the seventies. In many ways, their work was reserved for the specialist. This same contention could also be made of the initial works of Ernest Best and Hugh Anderson, but, perhaps, to a lesser degree than Black or Wilson.[1]

Now, this is not to say that all Scottish Biblical scholarship was headed in this particular direction. Men like William Barclay, James Stewart, and A. M. Hunter would continue to pursue more generalized and popular interests.[2] Their work would have been directed toward wider audiences than other specialists in similar fields of inquiry. In fact, their books would not only be found in university libraries, but also in the homes of lay people. It must be admitted that these men were not reflective of the predominating tendency toward increased specialization, but they certainly fulfilled a need.

As regards the theological interpretation of Biblical subject matter during the early 1960s, T. F. Torrance and J. K. S. Reid were

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[1]See E. Best, The Temptation and the Passion: The Markan Soteriology (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1965). E. Best was a lecturer in St. Andrews from 1963 to 1974, and Professor of Divinity and Biblical Criticism in Glasgow from 1974 to 1982. See also H. Anderson, Jesus and Christian Origins. H. Anderson was Professor of New Testament Language, Literature and Theology at New College from 1966 to 1985.

[2]See W. Barclay, The Master's Men (London, SCM Press, 1959), The Promise of the Spirit (London, Epworth Press, 1960), Crucified and Crowned (London, SCM Press, 1961), Flesh and Spirit: An Examination of Galatians 5:19-23 (Nashville, Abingdon Press, 1962), and Many Witnesses, One Lord (London, SCM Press, 1963). See also James S. Stewart, Wind of the Spirit (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1968). See also A. M. Hunter, Teaching and Preaching the New Testament (London, SCM Press, 1963), and Introducing the New Testament.

continuing generally along Calvinistic and Barthian lines.[1] Torrance was engaged in a struggle against existentialism and anthropocentric theology and calling for a new reformation.[2] J. K. S. Reid was defending Barth against his critics.[3] By the end of the decade, Torrance gave a new twist to his work by stressing the scientific and objective character of theological inquiry and by attempting to build bridges between theology and the natural sciences.[4] Both of these men strove to keep Scottish theology in continuity with its reformation heritage, and both were, at the same time, strongly committed to the ecumenical movement.

Despite the critiques of Torrance and Reid, Ian Henderson was pursuing a type of existential theology that owed much to Rudolf Bultmann. In some ways, Henderson went beyond Bultmann. For instance, Henderson believed that there was a kind of continuity between the Jesus of history and the Christ proclaimed in the kerygma.[5] This Bultmann would not permit. It was in exploring this continuity that Henderson became interested in the works of G. Bornkamm, G. Ebeling,

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[1]T. F. Torrance, Karl Barth: An Introduction to His Early Theology 1910-1931. J. K. S. Reid, The Authority of Scripture: A Study of the Reformation and Post-Reformation Understanding of the Bible (London, Methuen and Co., 1957). T. F. Torrance was Professor Christian Dogmatics at the University of Edinburgh from 1952 to 1979. J. K. S. Reid was Professor of Systematic Theology at the University of Aberdeen from 1961 to 1976.

[2]T. F. Torrance, Theology in Reconstruction (London, SCM Press, 1965), pp. 259-283.

[3]J. K. S. Reid, Our Life In Christ (London, SCM Press, 1963).

[4]T. F. Torrance, Theological Science (London, Oxford University Press, 1969).

[5]I. Henderson, Rudolf Bultmann (Richmond, John Knox Press, 1966), pp. 46-47.

and E. Fuchs.[1] Towards the later part of the 1960s, Henderson also exhibited an interest in the ecumenical movement which was highly critical.[2] In all his work, he sought what can only be called intellectual integrity.

One of the more urgent problems of the 1960s was how to relate the Christian faith to the growing secularism of western culture. This problem was taken up by Allan D. Galloway in his 1966 Kerr Lectures.[3] As he assessed the situation:

> "In the past few decades European culture has asserted its own secularity over against the image of a former Christendom. The European symbiosis of faith and culture has not ceased to exist. But it has become uncertain of itself and of its basis. The pace of change has become rapid. How can the church adapt to these changes without loss to her own identity? At what point and on what basis should she withhold her consent? These are many-sided questions which it lies within the competence of no single man to answer. But fundamental to every attempted answer must be an understanding of the essential relation of faith to culture."[4]

Galloway's lectures were primarily an attempt to describe the nature of this relationship between faith and culture. The foundation of this attempt was based upon the theological work of Paul Tillich.

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[1] I. Henderson, "Der Historiker und der Theologe," in H. Ristow and K. Mattiae, eds., Der historische Jesus und der kerygmatische Christus: Beiträge zum Christusverständnis in Forschung und Verkündigung (Berlin, Evangelische Verlagsanstadt, 1961), pp. 93-109.

[2] I. Henderson, Power Without Glory: A Study of Ecumenical Politics (London, Hutchinson, 1967).

[3] A. D. Galloway, Faith in a Changing Culture (London, George Allen and Unwin, 1967). Galloway was on staff at the University of Glasgow in the divinity faculty from 1960 to 1982. He became Professor of Divinity in 1969.

[4] Ibid., pp. 8-9.

Another Scottish theologian who took the problem of secularization seriously was Ronald Gregor-Smith.[1] In his own way, he took an affirmative attitude toward this phenomenon. "He was sharply critical both of the optimism which characterized The Secular City of Cox and of the reductionism to be found in The Secular Meaning of the Gospel of van Buren. His own type of secular theology was closer to the sources in Gogarten, Bultmann and Bonhoeffer. For Gregor-Smith, the secular is above all the historical, and secularisation is recognition of the temporal and historical nature of reality. But to live in a fully historical way is to relate to the past and to have a respect for tradition, as well as having a relation to the present and future."[2] His particular position was more balanced than the American secularizers.[3]

Throughout the 1960s, Scottish theologians and Biblical scholars seemed to be going in a multitude of directions. Even though they were influenced by the issues of the day, such as "The New Quest for the Historical Jesus", "The New Hermeneutic", the "Honest to God Debate", and the relation of existentialism to faith, these did not provide a unifying focus for their concerns. Religious thought during the 1960s in Scotland seemed to be going in many different directions all at once. As regards a general trend during this period, one can

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[1]See his works: R. Gregor-Smith, Secular Christianity, (London, Collins, 1966), and The Free Man: Studies in Christian Anthropology (London, Collins, 1969). Also see his article bibliography in Eugene Thomas Long, ed., God, Secularization and History: Essays in Memory of Ronald Gregor-Smith (Columbia, University of South Carolina Press, 1974), pp. 151-156.

[2]J. Macquarrie, Twentieth-Century Religious Thought, p. 399.

[3]Ibid.

only say that Biblical scholarship and theological inquiry were increasing in complexity.

Summation

During the years from 1940 to the early 1960s, Scottish Biblical scholarship had changed and developed considerably. The direction was primarily toward increased complexity, a greater degree of specialization, and more objectivity in the study of Biblical subject matter. Even though there were movements and trends which proceeded antithetically to this general direction, like Biblical Theology, the analytical approach to Biblical studies would eventually become predominant in Scotland.

This can be seen happening in the 1940s by the gradual acceptance of the more conservative results of form criticism. The more generalized "life of Christ" was being superceded by more particular studies like those specifically on Jesus' teachings or parables. But, in this period, the continuing influence of Barthian theology, the rise of Biblical theology and the effects of a world at war held this general tendency in balance.

The contents of the document recorded by the participants of the Ecumenical Study Conference held at Wadham College in 1949 could also be cited as evidence for this general trend. The interpretative method described in this document curiously lacked references to the more personal and subjective aspects of interpretation. Essentially, the prescribed method was linear proceeding from a technical and objec-

tive exegesis through an exposition stage which was primarily theological, to an application stage which was based upon parallelism of situation. To find as much concurrence as is witnessed to by this document is not to assume that all Biblical scholars proceeded along such lines, but it is to conclude that this procedure was commonly held and widely spread.

By the 1950s, this general trend was becoming more easily perceived. The problems posed to the Biblical interpreter were becoming increasingly complex. The demythologizing debate raised many intricate issues and asked many questions which were not easily answered. Even conservative scholars recognized the importance of Bultmann's posing of the hermeneutical question and his attempt to answer it. In many different ways, the controversy associated with the name of Rudolf Bultmann set the agenda for Biblical scholarship in ever-widening concentric circles of complexity during the 1950s.

This is not to say that all Scottish Biblical scholars advanced in accord with this general direction. Men like James Stewart, A. M. Hunter, Norman Porteous, and William Manson would pursue more traditional lines of inquiry. Their work would be directed toward wider audiences than other scholars. The church, its message and mission, would remain an important part of their work.

By the end of the 1950s and into the early 1960s, this general trend toward increased complexity, greater specialization, and more objectivity in Biblical studies would become progressively more pronounced. Men like M. Black and R. Wilson would be examples of Scottish

Biblical scholars whose work was primarily directed toward other specialists. To a lesser degree, this could also be said of men like E. Best and H. Anderson. Their work was considerably more specialized than that of Stewart or Manson. Even though the 1960s would send Scottish Biblical scholarship off in a great many different directions, this general trend would continue in most quarters throughout the 1960s.

There were several other influences upon Scottish Biblical scholarship which were not mentioned previously. Conservative English Biblical scholars like Vincent Taylor, T. W. Manson, C, K. Barrett, and C. F. D. Moule were quietly influential. Their articles and reviews of their works were found frequently in The Expository Times during this period. Also influential were the works of Paul Tillich, Reinhold Niebuhr, and F. C. Grant from the United States, but these were less so than the English scholars. There was, in addition, a rising awareness of the importance of the work of P. T. Forsyth throughout this period. Due to the necessities of this study these influences can only be mentioned.

A couple of observations and we shall move on. First, like most other institutions during these years from 1940 to the early 1960s, Scottish universities were effected by the overall secularization of Western culture. This is especially true of the divinity colleges. Their identity was gradually changing from a training ground for ministerial candidates to an academic department like any other. Their purpose was gradually being re-directed from that of serving the Church

to that of serving its own academic purposes. Their goal was not so much guarding the Church and propagating the faith as it was the pursuit of intellectual and objective truth. Of course, this is only a general trend, but the divinity colleges of the 1960s were a far cry from the Glasgow College of James Denney.

Second, the increased complexity and specialization of Biblical studies was causing gaps to appear between scholars and students, scholars and preachers, and preachers and parishioners. The rising concerns associated with hermeneutics and communication were symptomatic. These gaps, which grew ever wider throughout this period, would eventually come to the forefront of scholarly concern.

Chapter Seven

Correlation and Analysis

The intent of this final chapter is to attempt to correlate and analyze the developments in Biblical interpretation found within the Warrack Lectureships from 1940 to 1975 with those discovered within Scottish academic scholarship from 1881 to the early 1960s. The hope here is that they might be related to each other in some meaningful way which will reveal aspects of the correspondence between them. Much of what will be discussed in this chapter has already been made evident by the presentation thus far, so the discussion to follow will not belabour the issues but will be brief and to the point.

In order to accomplish this intent, the discussion will be organized by employing the three overall developments found within both the Warrack Lectureships and Scottish academic scholarship. As previously articulated, these are 1) a greater valuation of the more objective aspects of interpretation, 2) a subsequent devaluation of the more subjective aspects, and 3) a general overall change in theological orientation. Each of these will be considered in turn, and elements of their correlation will be analyzed toward the end of each section.

At the outset, a clarification needs to be made. What follows are generalizations. Whenever one considers any group of human beings over the course of an historical period an ambiguity factor directly enters into the consideration. In other words, there is an exception to every general rule, but this does not preclude the generalization from having any content or meaning. Instead of interrupting and

clouding the argument by consistently noting the exceptions, the consideration will be primarily focused upon the general and not the particular.

The Greater Valuation of the More Objective Aspects

As has been previously described in Chapters One through Three, there exists an overall development within the Warrack Lectureships toward a greater valuation of the more objective aspects of Biblical interpretation. This same overall development has also been noted within Scottish academic scholarship in Chapters Four through Six. At this point, we shall recapitulate each of these, attempt to correlate them, and then make some speculations about their relationship.

Within the Warrack Lectureships from 1940 to 1975, the increasing valuation of the objective aspects is revealed in several different ways. Since MacGregor's viewpoints were more reminiscent of an earlier generation than were those of the other lecturers of the 1940s, his Lectureship proved to be a good starting place. Reiterating what has already been argued, he emphasizes the subjective aspects more than the objective ones. This can be seen in his differentiation between "verbal" and "real" exegesis. Although he does employ the historical criticism which would have been taught to him in divinity college by his mentors like A. B. Bruce, he stresses within his lectures and other publications the use of the more personal and subjective aspects of interpretation over and above the more objective ones.

More representative were the recommendations and practices of Stewart. Within his suggestions on how to do Biblical interpretation, he stresses the importance of both accurate exegesis and understanding the meaning of the text within its context. Even so, he is also willing to permit an occasional more than literal, or allegorical, interpretation of the text. Moreover, he encourages the use of the wider view and the apostolic kerygma as ways through which to assess the meaning of a particular text. It appears as if Stewart and most of the others emphasize both the objective and subjective aspects equally without giving precedence to one or the other and without perceiving any conflict of interest between the two. Looking at Stewart's lectures and the concurrences found within the other Lectureships of the 1940s, one perceives a subtle but significant difference in emphasis between MacGregor and the others pointing toward a greater valuation of the more objective aspects. Within the final Lectureship of this decade, that of McIntyre, this direction would become by comparison even more pronounced.

Turning to the Lectureships of the 1950s, this direction would be further confirmed not only by the growing emphasis placed upon these objective aspects but even more so by the amount of content and consideration given to them. Craig devotes his entire Lectureship to a discussion of Biblical Criticism, and Cowan delivers two lectures on how to exposit the Scriptures for preaching. Scholarly and technical exegetical methods are insisted upon and discussed in a way that was not found in the Lectureships of the 1940s. Moreover, certain interpretive problems, such as how to discern the meaning of Biblical subject

matter contained within specific literary genres, are examined in a depth equalled nowhere in the previous decade. Although the more subjective aspects continue to be discussed, the emphasis placed upon them diminishes during this decade. Generally speaking, by comparison, greater consideration and credence is given to these more objective aspects in the Lectureships of the 1950s than is afforded them in those of the 1940s.

By the time of the Lectureships between 1960 and 1975, this overall direction would become even further evident. The lecturers of this later period give even more consideration and credence to these objective aspects than did their immediate predecessors in the 1950s. This can be seen not only in Cleland's condemnation of the homiletical sin of eisegesis but also within his suggested exegetical method which appears to be devoid of subjective factors. Moreover, in their lengthy considerations of overall interpretative method, Keir, Cleland, and Pitt-Watson, each in their own way, set objective limits or norms by which to test the preacher's interpretation of Biblical subject matter. Since the preacher's personality, his/her personal bias, and the preconceptions of one's era have, to varying degrees, become suspect, the lecturers of this later period attempt to circumvent these influences by emphasizing and employing the more objective aspects nearly to the exclusion of the more subjective ones. Carefully considering the Lectureships from 1940 to 1975, the development toward a greater valuation of the more objective aspects becomes increasingly apparent.

This steady course toward the greater valuation of the more objective aspects of interpretation is also evident within Scottish academic scholarship between 1881 and the early 1960s. Within the period from 1881 to the outset of the Great War, one notes the entrance and growing use of historical and literary criticism within Scottish academic circles. Examining the works of A. B. Bruce and M. Dods in successive chronological order provides ample evidence for this contention. Because Biblical Criticism was closely linked to the tenets of German Liberal Theology, it did cause a critical reaction from more conservative scholars like J. Orr and J. Denney. Despite this reaction, historical and literary studies of Biblical subject matter continued to grow in prominence and popularity through to the end of this period when Scottish scholars had amassed quite a number of works applying this new approach.

In the time between the wars, the application of this new approach continued to be employed and, in fact, broke off into some new directions. The works of A. Deissmann and the others associated with the History of Religions School were given serious consideration in some Scottish academic circles shortly after World War I. Their investigations were taken up by men like H. A. A. Kennedy who admitted the import of the Hellenistic environment within New Testament studies but criticized their over-estimate of the significance of their discoveries. By the 1930s, source and form critical studies were having their initial impact within Scottish academic scholarship. These were taken up by professors like G. H. C. MacGregor, G. S. Duncan, and W. Manson. Even though none of the Scottish scholars could concur with Bultmann's radicalism,

they did use some of the insights and results of form criticism to inform their own work.

Because of the effects of form criticism and other new tools of Biblical research, Scottish scholars would set off upon a definite course. Their work would become increasingly inclined toward the particular as opposed to the general. For instance, instead of composing a life of Jesus, they would deal with more limited and specific issues like Jesus' teachings or parables. Moreover, their work would become less related to any particular theology and more related to that which was historically and objectively verifiable. This overall course would become even more evident in the period between 1940 and the early 1960s.

The method of Biblical interpretation, which was commonly concurred upon by those who attended the 1949 Ecumenical Study Conference at Wadham College, is a good illustration. The agreed upon exegetical method is technical and oriented almost exclusively to the more objective aspects. Textual, source, literary, form, and historical critical methodologies are all to be employed to discover the meaning which the words had for the original author and hearer or reader. Within the application phase, direct parallelism of a Biblical situation to a modern one is essential. References to the more subjective aspects are curiously lacking while the preconceptions of our time are looked upon with suspicion. This particular interpretative method requires specialized academic skills which, in a way, serve to limit the influence of the more subjective aspects. Compared to the methods of

Biblical interpretation found in the works of Bruce and Dods, this more modern one reveals a course toward increased complexity, a higher degree of specialization, and a greater valuation of the more objective side of interpretation.

Through the 1950s to the early 1960s, this course would continue to be followed by many Scottish scholars. The demythologizing debate, inaugurated by I. Henderson's monograph in 1952, began to draw increasing attention from certain Scottish academics. Although criticized by many, Bultmann's project was taken seriously by scholars like R. Gregor-Smith and J. Macquarrie. Moreover, the published works of scholars like M. Black and R. Wilson and, to a lesser degree, those of E. Best and H. Anderson would continue upon this course toward increased specialization and compartmentalization of Biblical studies and a greater valuation of the more objective side of interpretation.

Now, this was the predominating direction in Scottish academic scholarship, but it was not the only one. In 1943, A. M. Hunter's call for scholars to seek the unity instead of the particularity of the Bible did not go unheeded in Scotland. Drawing from the work of O. Cullman and E. Stauffer, an amorphous movement called Biblical Theology drew some attention throughout this period from 1946 to the early 1960s. Although A. M. Hunter was its most serious advocate, others like N. Porteous, W. Manson, and J. Stewart took up the call in varying degrees. Despite the fact that there were movements to the contrary, the overall development toward the greater valuation of the more objective aspects of interpretation was clearly the predominating direction in Scottish academic scholarship.

At this point, we turn to consider the correlation between the developments in Biblical interpretation found within the Warrack Lectureships and Scottish academic scholarship. From all that has been argued thus far, this overall development toward a greater valuation of the more objective aspects is recognized in both. Even so, the relationship is even closer than simply proceeding in a direction which is parallel. There are intersections at which the Biblical interpretative methods of Scottish scholars have had a more direct impact upon those of the Warrack Lecturers.

These primary intersections appear to be two in number. The first is when the Warrack lecturers were in divinity college training for parish ministry. There they had their initial exposure to academic methods of Biblical interpretation. Whether or not these lecturers continued to practice as they were taught is very much an individual matter, but there were certainly some who remained faithful to the practices which their mentors had imparted to them.

MacGregor is a good example. When asked why he had deserted the pulpit for a chair, he replied "that he had learned some things from Bruce which he would fain hand on."[1] As has been exhibited earlier, MacGregor remained faithful to the interpretative methods which were originally taught to him especially by A. B. Bruce. For instance, the differentiation which MacGregor draws between "verbal" and "real" exegesis is actually taken directly from Bruce himself. Moreover, one

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[1]MacGregor, Warrack, 1942, p. 19.

notes in his exegesis of Genesis 3:15 a style of historical criticism much akin to that of his mentors. Throughout his career and even as late as his 1942 Warrack Lectureship, MacGregor had remained faithful to the methods of Biblical interpretation which were initially taught to him while attending divinity college.[1]

The second of these primary intersections is when a Warrack Lecturer, who was already in a charge, encountered the more recent findings and interpretative methods of academic scholarship. Unlike MacGregor, most of the other lecturers permitted this second intersection to have at least some effect upon their original interpretative methods. Here again, the extent to which they allowed these advances in scholarship to modify their original approaches is an individual matter or, perhaps, one of innate ability. Even so, most of the others were at least aware of the newer findings and methods and permitted them, to varying extents, to modify their original practices.

Take a lecturer like Craig for example. In his years at University and Divinity College, he would have heard nothing of form criticism.[2] As has been previously noted, by the time of Lectureship in 1952, Craig is not only aware of form criticism but has also incorporated some of its insights into his own interpretation of the miracle stories and the resurrection narratives. Although he could not concur with the

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[1]A good case could also be made for Jeffrey, Jarvis, and Wright as remaining faithful adherents to the Biblical interpretative methods which they were originally taught.

[2]Craig attended the University of Edinburgh (M.A. 1910) and New College (1910-1913). He was also Lecturer in Biblical Studies in the University of Glasgow from 1947 to 1957.

radicalism of Bultmann, he does admit that there is a "fringe of legend that surrounds the entire narrative of Holy Scripture."[1] It is therefore the proper task of Biblical Criticism "to illumine the long and complex process by which this truly human body of literature came into existence, to characterize the various literary media used by the writers, and substantially to improve our knowledge of what they originally wrote and our understanding of what they meant by it."[2] Essentially, Craig has integrated form criticism, in his own particular fashion, as a part of his overall method of Biblical interpretation. Somewhere, over the course of his years in parish ministry, he encountered this new approach and modified his own to incorporate it.

Take Cleland as another example. There is little evidence to suggest that the linear and technical interpretative method outlined in his lectures was equivalent to the one he was originally taught.[3] It is more reasonable to assume that throughout his career he continued to appropriate the more recent advances in Biblical and theological scholarship. In fact, his overall interpretative method as discovered

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[1]Craig, Warrack, 1952, p. 91.

[2]Ibid., p. 35.

[3]Cleland graduated from University of Glasgow (M.A. 1924) and Glasgow College (B.D. 1927). During these years, form criticism did provoke a little discussion in some Scottish academic circles, but it does not seem to have been taken seriously until the 1930s. It is unlikely then that he would have been taught about form criticism during this time. By the time of his lectures, Cleland includes the consideration of literary form as an intrinsic part of his suggested exegetical method.

in his lectures bears a striking similarity to that documented by the scholars who attended the 1949 Ecumenical Study Conference at Wadham College. From the available evidences, it is sensible to conclude that Cleland kept up with the advances of scholarship and modified his original approach to include these newer findings and methods.

The incorporation of the advances of Biblical and theological scholarship into the Warrack Lecturers' interpretative methods comes as no surprise. Most of them held a profound respect for the work of scholars.[1] Cowan sums up their basic attitude when he writes:

> "He [the preacher] should make it a point of honour to keep himself informed of the latest conclusions of theology and of Biblical scholarship. He must continue his training in Divinity...."[2]

From a different perspective, this can be further affirmed by the number of Warrack Lecturers who received academic appointments.[3] Taken as a group, the majority of the Warrack Lecturers kept up with the advances in scholarship and integrated into their original approaches those which they considered appropriate.

In further exploring the nature of this correspondence between the new findings and methods of scholarship and their subsequent appropria-

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[1]Each in their own way and for their own particular reasons, it is evident from their lecturers that Jeffrey, Jarvis, Wright, and MacKenzie held a somewhat less enthusiastic estimate of the importance of scholarship for preaching.

[2]Cowan, Warrack, 1954, p. 39.

[3]All of the following Warrack Lecturers received academic appointments; Farmer, MacGregor, Stewart, Whale, Niebuhr, Craig, MacLennan, Boyd, Cleland, and Pitt-Watson.

tion by the Warrack Lecturers, one observes a certain time lag. In most cases, the scholars discover, discuss, and begin to integrate these new findings and methods in their work, and then after a certain lag time, they begin to show up in the Warrack Lectureships. Of course, one cannot be exact in this sort of correlation. It may occur sooner or later depending upon the intrinsic nature of the new findings and methods themselves and their applicability to the preacher's task, yet there does appear to be a pattern. The trajectory of form criticism in Scottish Biblical scholarship and its subsequent adoption by the Warrack Lecturers is typical. At this point, it would serve well to trace the trajectories of form criticism in both and compare them to see what this implies about their correlation.

Within Scottish academic circles, form criticism was initially considered by H. A. A. Kennedy in 1923 shortly after the publication of R. Bultmann's Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition, yet nothing much comes of it. In 1931, James MacKinnon acknowledges the existence of the "Formgeschichtliche Schule" in his The Historic Jesus but dismisses its findings as far too extreme to be taken seriously. Shortly thereafter, C. H. Dodd and V. Taylor take up this new tool, alter some of its more radical presuppositions, and come up with very different results. It is at this point that form criticism becomes of interest to Scottish academics as can be seen in G. H. C. MacGregor's Inaugural Lecture of 1933. By the late 1930s and early 1940s, not only are the insights of form criticism being discussed as in the work of G. S. Duncan but the method itself is being employed as in the work of W. Manson.

Within this period, form criticism would exert a recognizable influence upon Gospel studies. Scholars would no longer pursue the more general "life" of Jesus but instead would deal with more specific topics like His teachings or parables. A new focus would be placed upon the life and thought of the primitive Christian community. This trend was identified as early as 1934 by G. H. C. MacGregor. In light of Bultmann's radical claims, a new look would be taken at the miracle stories, the resurrection narratives, and other repeated literary genres within the gospels. Throughout the 1930s to the early 1940s, form criticism would exert a significant influence upon Gospel studies both in Scotland and within the United Kingdom generally.

The chronological trajectory of form criticism within the Warrack Lectureships is somewhat different. The first mention is found in McIntyre's lectures of 1949. He dismisses it abruptly as being far too radical and concludes that "the residual Jesus left by Form Criticism could not have created a Church to invent His Gospel for Him."[1] By the time of Craig's lectures in 1952, he is much better informed and employs some of its insights. In his own much more conservative way, Craig even employs the method itself. Moreover, in some of the Lectureships of the 1950s, questions regarding how to interpret the parables, the miracle stories, and the resurrection narratives are taken seriously and suggestions are offered. Finally, by the time of Cleland's lectures

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[1]McIntyre, Warrack, 1949, p. 56.

in 1963/64, form criticism, devoid of Bultmann's more radical presuppositions and results, is simply part of his overall exegetical method.

By comparing these two trajectories, one observes a lag time between the entrance, discussion, and acceptance of form criticism in Scottish academic circles and within the Warrack Lectureships. While form criticism was being discussed in the 1930s and then finally altered to be made acceptable in Scottish academic circles by the early 1940s, it is not until the 1950s and early 1960s that form criticism receives a comparative treatment within the Warrack Lectureships. Generally speaking, this sort of lag time is rather typical of the correspondence between the new findings and methods of scholarship and their subsequent appropriation by the Warrack Lecturers.

This sort of lag time is not unexpected for several reasons. Because of the intrinsic nature of the scholar's task, he/she usually makes the new discoveries or receives information about them before a preacher in a charge. It takes time for a scholar to study, to assess, and finally to employ, alter, or reject these more recent advances. Moreover, it takes more time for them to transpose that information into a medium which can be understood by a preacher. Lastly, it takes even more time for the preacher to consider, examine, and finally appropriate this new information. All this added together results in a certain lag time between the advances in scholarship and their subsequent appropriation by preachers in the field.

Whether this lag time is shorter or longer appears to be contingent upon two primary factors of equal magnitude. First is how well scholars are able to formulate and transpose these new findings and methods into a medium through which they can be understood and potentially appropriated by preachers. Secondly, it depends just as much upon how well the preachers keep up on these advances in scholarship and are receptive to them. If one would seek to facilitate this exchange of information between scholars and preachers, then these two factors appear to be of primary and equal importance.

Within all this, it is evident that the correlation between the developments in Biblical interpretation found within Scottish academic scholarship and those discovered in the Warrack Lectureships is closer than simply proceeding in a parallel way toward the greater valuation of the more objective aspects of interpretation. There are intersections where the Biblical interpretative methods of scholars have a direct impact upon the Warrack Lecturers. These include their training while at Divinity College and later on, as preachers in the field, their encounter with the advancements in academic scholarship. We shall continue to explore this correlation as we turn now to consider the subsequent devaluation of the more subjective aspects of interpretation.

The Devaluaton of the More Subjective Aspects

Another overall development, which arose essentially as an intrinsic part of the one just discussed, was that of a consequential devalua-

tion of the more subjective aspects of Biblical interpretation. As described in Chapters One through Three, this overall development was noted within the Warrack Lectureships. Moreover, this same overall development was also discovered in Scottish academic scholarship as described in Chapters Four through Six. We shall now attempt to recapitulate and correlate these and then consider what this implies about their relationship.

Within the Warrack Lectureship from 1940 to 1975, one can observe this gradual lessening of emphasis upon the more subjective side of interpretation. In the Lectureships of the 1940s, certain subjective categories were important for interpretation which later became somewhat suspect. In the earlier lectures, personal religious experience, the preacher's devotional life, the revelatory power of the Holy Spirit, and even the preacher's personality could reveal the meaning of Biblical subject matter in a direct way that later became devalued. Although these were not emphasized in a way which excluded the more scholarly methods, it was just that they were considered as an intrinsic and valuable part of the overall process.

In the Lectureships of the 1950s, one begins to see a rising emphasis given to the more objective side of interpretation and a subsequent lessening of emphasis afforded the more subjective aspects. The importance ascribed to personal religious experience and to the preacher's devotional life for apprehending the meaning of Biblical subject matter diminishes. In fact, Craig is somewhat skeptical of

religious experience, while others note its limitations. The "truth through personality" concept of preaching, as espoused by MacGregor, is not found in the lectures of this decade. The revelatory capacity of the Holy Spirit is maintained, but the insistence to do proper preparatory work first is emphasized in a way it was not in the 1940s. Even though these more subjective aspects continued to be important, they were gradually being shifted from a primary role in apprehending the meaning of Biblical subject matter to a more secondary role.

By the 1960s and 1970s, this devaluation of the more subjective aspects becomes increasingly evident. Cleland devotes an entire lecture to the homiletical sin of eisegesis and to the proper way of interpreting Biblical material. His method is based primarily upon the more objective side of interpretation. Modesty is encouraged during the second stage of homiletical reflection when one's personal bias may become a factor. McWilliam and Keir are suspicious of the role of personality in the overall task of preaching itself. The revelatory capacity of the Holy Spirit is maintained, but Keir, Cleland, and Pitt-Watson establish certain limitations or norms by which to test the preacher's insights. It is not that these subjective aspects have been eliminated entirely. It is more that the categories have changed and that their importance and placement within the overall interpretative process has been reduced to a limited but significant role.

Within Scottish academic scholarship from 1881 to the early 1960s, one also observes a parallel kind of devaluation of the more subjective

aspects. In the period before the Great War, much accreditation was given to the more subjective and personal side of interpretation. Under the growing sway of Biblical Criticism, the Scriptures could no longer be understood as a compendium of inerrantly inspired propositional truths. Some new way had to be found to establish its authority and authenticity. Men of the ilk of W. Robertson Smith turned to a subjective theory of revelation. According to J. Denney, it was the revelation of God to the soul in Christ, attested by the Holy Spirit, that confirmed the truth of Scripture. In this way, to discover the Word of God as contained in Scripture, much credence was given to personal religious experience and devotional life.

This emphasis upon the more subjective and personal side of interpretation continued throughout the 1920s but began to gradually diminish in the 1930s. New trends in Biblical studies and theology were having a direct impact upon Scottish academic scholarship. Under the growing influence of the new advancements in Biblical research, such as source and form criticism, historical and literary studies of Biblical subject matter were becoming increasingly scientific and technical in a way they were not before World War I. The days of a work like A. B. Bruce's The Training of the Twelve were long since passed. Adding to the general disillusionment with Liberal Theology, Barth, with his strong opposition to psychologism and subjectivism, asserted a complete discontinuity between Christian revelation and human life even at its best. Although Scottish scholars did not capitulate completely to these new trends, they were certainly affected by them. One of the effects was a gradual lessening of emphasis placed upon the more subjective aspects of interpretation.

This overall development becomes more and more apparent throughout the time period between 1940 and the early 1960s. Because of the discussions surrounding Barthian theology and Bultmann's understanding of form criticism, the presuppositions of the Biblical interpreter came under increasingly closer scrutiny. In 1949, the interpretative method employed by the participants of the Ecumenical Study Conference at Wadham College curiously lacks reference to the more subjective aspects. In fact, the preconceptions of our time were looked upon with suspicion. By the late 1950s and early 1960s, some Scottish scholars were working in highly technical and specialized areas of inquiry. One thinks here of the published works of M. Black and R. Wilson. If one were to compare the works of A. B. Bruce and M. Dods with those composed by H. Anderson and E. Best during this period, this comparison would clearly demonstrate a greater valuation of the more objective aspects of interpretation and a subsequent devaluation of the more subjective ones. Although not all Scottish scholars pursued this particular direction, it was the predominating one.

By comparing these two trajectories of the devaluation of the more subjective aspects, one again observes that they proceed in a way which is parallel and that there is a certain lag time between the developments in Scottish academic scholarship and those found within the Warrack Lectureships. For instance, within Scottish academic circles, the importance ascribed to personal religious experience in the time before World War I begins to diminish during the period between the wars.

From 1940 to the early 1960s, the more personal and experiential side of interpretation becomes increasingly suspect. Within the Warrack Lectureships of the 1940s, personal religious experience is considered an important component of interpretation, but in the 1950s, this emphasis begins to diminish. By the 1960s and 1970s, it is not that the subjective aspects are no longer emphasized. It is more that their importance and placement within the overall interpretative process has been reduced to a limited but significant role.

Now, to substantiate a more direct correlation between these two is somewhat difficult. Within Scottish academic circles, the gradual devaluation of the more subjective aspects was not an issue that was frequently discussed. Instead, it was simply a consequence of the increasing value ascribed to the more objective aspects. Evidence for a direct correspondence between the increased valuation of the objective aspects within Scottish scholarship and the Warrack Lectureships has already been noted. By employing this indirect means of argumentation, one could provide ample evidence for a more direct correlation between the two as regards the subsequent devaluation of the more subjective aspects.

This would be correct but only up to a certain point. Because of its intrinsic nature, preaching must include the more subjective aspects in a way that is not a necessity for scholarship. Somewhere along the line within a preacher's interpretation of Biblical material he/she must translate that information so that it can become God's Word addressed as subject to subject. To do so, a preacher must employ the more subjective aspects of interpretation. This particular criterion is not a necessity for scholarship. Because this is so, a preacher cannot go

as far in devaluating the more subjective aspects as is potentially possible for a scholar. Although the Warrack Lecturers certainly did devalue the importance of the more subjective aspects in a way that was quite similar to some Scottish academics, they were incapable of going as far as other scholars because of the intrinsic nature of their task.

A bit of a clarification might be helpful here. On the one hand, scholars can potentially remain quite uninvolved personally in their interpretation of Biblical subject matter. They can cite internal and external evidence, develop their arguments according to the rules of logical coherence, arrive at rationally justifiable conclusions, and then stop there. Although not all scholars end their work at this point, there are some academic circles in which this methodology is considered the epitome of good scholarship.

On the other hand, preachers can travel a long way with scholars, but at some point within the interpretative process, they need to translate that information into a mode of expression that enables God to speak His Word addressed as subject to subject. To accomplish this part of the interpretative task, a preacher needs to employ the more subjective aspects of interpretation. Unlike a scholar, a preacher cannot remain completely detached.

However, it is evident from all that has been discussed thus far that the Warrack Lecturers did follow the lead of Scottish scholars. Learning their basic interpretative approaches while at divinity college and then later appropriating some of the newer advances in scholarship, the Warrack Lecturers' methods of Biblical interpretation, throughout the period from 1940 to 1975, demonstrate an increasing use of the more

objective aspects and a subsequent devaluation of the more subjective ones. Although they could only do this up to a certain point because of the intrinsic nature of their task, the Warrack Lecturers were more directly affected by the developments in Scottish Biblical and theological scholarship than simply proceeding in a parallel direction even as it regards the more subjective and personal side of interpretation.

Owing to the scholars' growing devaluation of the more subjective aspects and the necessity for preachers to continue to employ them, a gap has arisen between the Biblical interpretative work of scholars and preachers. The increasing complexity, specialization, and compartmentalization of Biblical and theological studies within some academic circles has only served to further widen the gap. This gap is one factor which makes it difficult for preachers to keep up with and appropriate the more recent advances in scholarship. Unless this gap is somehow more effectively spanned by both scholars and preachers, the advances in scholarship which were considered so essential for good preaching by the Warrack Lecturers will become increasingly unavailable.

The Changes in Theological Orientation

In addition to the developments previously discussed, there were also distinct changes in overall theological orientation found within both the Warrack Lectures and Scottish academic scholarship. As described in Chapters One through Three, the movement away from Liberal Theology toward the perspectives of Barthian theology is noted within the Warrack

Lectureships. This same overall direction was also discovered in Scottish academic scholarship as described in Chapters Four through Six. Although neither the scholars nor the preachers, as a general rule, were given to the excesses and extremes of Continental theology, they were clearly affected by it.

Within the Warrack Lectures of the 1940s and even some of those in the 1950s, one notes the predominance of a theological viewpoint known as Liberal Evangelicalism. One could include as advocates, to a greater or lesser degree, men like MacGregor, Stewart, Jeffrey, McIntyre, Jarvis, Craig, Cowan, and Wright. All of these men were educated in Scottish divinity colleges some time before World War I or shortly thereafter. By the time of their lectures, one perceives a growing dissatisfaction with the excesses of Liberal Theology but an unwillingness to yield some of its specific gains. No doubt this was due in part to the advent of Barthian theology which is noted in some of their lectures, but at this point, the work of Karl Barth was being met with strong criticism.

Some of the others in the 1950s and especially those in the 1960s showed a greater appreciation and use of Barthian theology. One could include in this group men such as Read, Small, Keir, and McWilliam. All these men graduated from Scottish divinity colleges within the 1930s. Read noted that Barth's revival of Reformed Theology as one of the signs of hope in our era. Small studied under Emil Brunner at the University of Zurich in 1931. Keir and McWilliam both incorporated Barth's understanding of the Word of God into their lectures. Throughout

the 1950s and especially in the 1960s, one perceives an increasing acceptance and use of Barthian theology.

By the early 1970s, Karl Barth has come to be considered a, perhaps the, theological authority of the day. Throughout his lectures, Pitt-Watson both advocates and employs the concepts and constructs of Barthian theology. The influence of Liberal Theology has become negligible, if not considered passe. Pitt-Watson, who graduated from New College (B.D. 1950), demonstrates the highest allegiance to Barthian perspectives of any of the Warrack Lecturers. Although he sides with Brunner instead of Barth over the issue of Natural Theology, his overall theological perspective is more informed by Barth than any other theologian. Throughout the Warrack Lectureships from 1940 to 1975, one observes a transition away from the influence of Liberal Theology toward a greater appreciation and use of Barthian perspectives.

Within Scottish academic scholarship from 1881 to the early 1960s, one observes a similar transition in progress. In the time before World War I, Scottish scholars were highly influenced by German Liberal Theology. Professors such as A. B. Bruce were steadily moving toward it throughout their careers. The perspectives of Ritschl and later those of Harnack were quite popular in many Scottish divinity classrooms. The commendation of practical religion and the disparagement of doctrine, the essence of the Gospel found in the teaching of the Jesus of history, the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, and the progressive development of the Kingdom of God were themes frequently repeated in lectures

and sermons alike. Although some Scottish theologians, such as J. Orr and J. Denney, were critical, the influence of German Liberal Theology was high in most Scottish academic circles of this period. This influence continued throughout the 1920s but with somewhat less enthusiasm than it did before the war.

As the 1920s turned into the 1930s, the theology of Karl Barth and the others of the "Swiss School" would have their initial impact upon Scottish academic scholarship. At the outset, Barth's work met with very mixed reactions. J. Baillie and D. S. Cairns were appreciative but highly critical. For them, Barth's concept of God as "totaliter aliter" was a distortion. A similar attitude was employed to assess his doctrine of man and his rejection of Natural Theology. A more moderate but still critical position was taken by professors like E. P. Dickie and H. R. Mackintosh. The most positive reaction came from two parish ministers named J. McConnachie and G. S. Hendry. Within Scottish academic circles, the time was ripe for a through-going critique of the excesses of German Liberal Theology but not for its outright rejection. Despite the desire of some Scottish scholars to hold onto the specific gains of Liberal Theology, the work of Barth and the others continued to grow in popularity and credibility. As the 1930s drew to a close, Barthian theology was rapidly gaining centre stage.

From the 1940s through until the early 1960s, the theological work of Karl Barth steadily increased in credibility and acceptance within Scottish academic circles. Even though John Baillie in 1942 claimed that Barth

was propagating theological irrationalism, younger theologians such as G. S. Hendry and T. F. Torrance were championing Barthian perspectives. G. T. Thomson's lectures were heavily dependent on Barth. Those of a more liberal, humanistic, or, if one prefers, balanced approach were losing ground. By the early 1960s, the influence of Liberal Theology had faded substantially while Barthian theology had grown considerably in influence.

Turning now to correlate this transition away from Liberal Theology toward Barthian theology within Scottish academic scholarship and the Warrack Lectures, one here again observes a more direct correspondence than simply proceeding in an overall parallel direction. Long after some of the Warrack Lecturers had graduated from divinity college, they were aware of and effected by the advances in theological scholarship. Although here again a certain lag time exists between the appropriation of Barthian theology in Scottish academic circles and that same development within the Warrack Lectureships, it is clear that the lecturers were directly influenced by the more recent opinions of the scholars.

Take, for instance, a lecturer such as Cockburn. He would have graduated from Glasgow Free Church College (B.D. 1907) when Liberal Theology was the dernier cri. He would have learned much about Ritschl and Harnack especially in the classes taught by A. B. Bruce. By the time of his Lectureship in 1945, he was both aware of and affected by Barth's theology of crisis. He asserted that "Barth's theology has been a

cleansing blast of utmost significance and worth; the Christian Church will ever be his debtor, even when it cannot digest all his teaching."[1] Reflecting the initial attitude of some Scottish scholars in the 1930s, he is appreciative but critical. He posits that Barth's doctrine of man is helpful as a corrective but is in fact a distortion.[2] In all this, it is evident that Cockburn's overall theological perspective has been directly influenced by the more recent developments within Scottish theological scholarship.

As another example, take a look at a lecturer like Pitt-Watson. He would have taken his divinity training during the late 1940s when Barthian theology was growing in credibility but was still being carefully criticized. By the time of his Lectureship in 1972/74, he had integrated within his overall theological orientation many of Barth's perspectives. In fact, he went even further by attempting, like Professor Heinrich Ott, to find "a middle way between Barth's biblical positivism in which nothing is to be translated from the 'language of Canaan' and Bultmann's full-blooded existentialism in which everything is to be translated."[3] It is clear here also that Pitt-Watson's theological orientation has been directly influenced by the more recent advances in theological scholarship.

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[1]Cockburn, Warrack, 1945, III, p. 3.

[2]Ibid., IV, p. 9.

[3]Pitt-Watson, Warrack, 1972/74, p. 14.

Even though there exists a certain lag time between the advances in scholarship and their subsequent appropriation by the Warrack Lecturers, the lecturers, as a general rule, kept up with what was developing in the realm of scholarship. In many instances, the correlation is remarkably close. Quite often, the lecturers held opinions about the more recent advances which were quite similar to Scottish scholars. As Stewart responded to Barthian theology in his 1943 Lectureship, he labels his doctrine of man as "theological irrationalism." A similar label was frequently employed by J. Baillie. This sort of phenomenon is by no means unusual considering the kind of respect most of the lecturers had for the work of scholars.

Summation

From all that has been presented thus far, it is evident that the developments in Biblical interpretation found in Scottish academic scholarship from 1881 to the early 1960s and those discovered in the Warrack Lectureships from 1940 to 1975 are actually related in quite a meaningful way. Their correlation is much closer than simply proceeding in a way which is parallel. Intersecting during the Warrack Lecturers' training while attending divinity college and later as they discovered and appropriated the more recent advances, Scottish Biblical and theological scholarship had a direct influence and effect upon the Warrack Lecturers' methods of Biblical interpretation. Considering the respect most of the lecturers had for the work of scholars, it comes as no surprise.

Within this correspondence, it was observed that a certain lag time exists between the more recent advances in scholarship and their subsequent appropriation by the Warrack Lecturers. This lag time occurs because it takes time for scholars to discover, assess, and employ these more recent methods and findings. Moreover, it takes more time for them to transpose that information into a medium which can be understood and potentially appropriated by preachers. Finally, it takes additional time for the preacher to repeat the same process the scholar did initially.

It was also noted that to facilitate shortening this lag time depended equally on two factors. First, it is determined by how well scholars are able to transpose the new methods and findings into a medium through which they can be understood and potentially appropriated by preachers. Secondly, it is also dependent upon how well preachers keep up on these new advantages and are receptive to them. Whether this lag time is shorter or longer depends equally upon both scholars and preachers.

In the second section, it was further observed that due to some scholars' increasing devaluation of the more subjective aspects and the necessity for preachers to continue to employ them, a gap was seen to be arising between the Biblical interpretative work of scholars and preachers. The increasing complexity and specialization of Biblical and theological scholarship also seen to be occurring toward the end of this present study has served to further widen this gap. It was concluded that unless this gap is more effectively spanned by both scholars and preachers, the advances in scholarship will become increasingly unavailable for preachers.

All things considered, the Warrack Lecturers as a general rule kept up with and were influenced by the developments in Scottish Biblical and theological scholarship. Considering the demands placed upon their time as parish ministers, it is remarkable how much impact scholarship actually did have upon their interpretation of Biblical subject matter. It is much too easy for ministers to become so absorbed in the life of their parishes that they come to completely neglect the happenings in contemporary scholarship. Moreover, it is also remarkable how closely the Warrack Lecturers' opinions concurred with Scottish Biblical and theological scholars. When it is all said and done, the relationship between the Warrack Lecturers and Scottish scholars was a close and important one.

CONCLUSION

Since the preceding chapter has essentially fulfilled the task of a formal conclusion to this thesis by correlating and then analyzing the developments in Biblical interpretation found within the Warrack Lecturers from 1940 to 1975 and those discovered in Scottish Biblical and theological scholarship from 1881 to the early 1960s, it only remains to draw out some of the implications from this gathered information. If the Warrack Lecturers can be taken to be examples of good preachers and if their lectures can be considered to be accurate representations of their homiletical methods, then certain implications drawn from their understandings of the relationship between preaching and scholarship can be said to be true.

First and foremost, good scholarship is an essential precondition for good preaching. Although some lecturers such as Menzies and MacKenzie were somewhat less enthusiastic, the great majority of the Warrack Lecturers insisted that scholarship was a prerequisite for authentic and accurate, and therefore, good preaching. For Craig, scholarship was perceived as a kind of inner integrity that led him into the depths of the Spirit. It had an air of sanctity to it. For Cowan, the preacher's own acquisition of scholarship and its use as a foundation for sermon preparation were simply considered to be part of the preacher's duty. Even though a preacher's use of scholarship may not be directly stated within the body of a given sermon, it was to form the backbone and foundation from which the sermon arose.

The caution espoused by lecturers like Menzies and MacKenzie, albeit not for the reasons they give, is not without justification.

Some contemporary scholars in pursuit of intellectual truth break the boundaries of that which is normative for those ordained to be ministry of mainline Christian Churches. One such example would be a scholar who advocated and taught the complete rejection of the divinity of Christ. Such heresy cannot be proclaimed from the pulpits of mainline Christian denominations. This does not preclude the scholar's contribution to the world of learning. It simply means that preachers must employ their own critical faculties and cannot naively accept whatever some scholars would teach them.

On the one hand, this presents certain disadvantages for the preacher. Like so many other institutions in Western culture, Scottish Divinity Colleges have been affected by the secularization that so characterizes our modern era. In the days when MacGregor attended Glasgow Free Church College and later when he became its Principal, scholars saw themselves as the guardians of the Church and the keepers of its truth. In some ways, it appears today as if this self-definition has given way to a newer one. The Divinity Faculties are an integral part of the University to which they have a primary responsibility. They still seek to serve the Church, but the Church no longer exercises the same control over the content of the teaching. The relationship can be a delicate one. Now, surely there are a host of precipitatory causes for this change in attitude and relationship, but it does present disadvantages for the contemporary preacher who must carefully examine what some scholars would teach.

Even so, on the other hand, this change also has advantages. One of the important roles of the Divinity College has historically been

to lead the Church into the future and into a deeper, fuller understanding of its truth. A trial like that of W. Robertson Smith is unlikely to happen today. The license afforded modern scholars permits them to search out avenues of thought that might have been at one time censored by a traditional and static Church unwilling to be transformed by a deeper perception of its truth. In this way, the work of contemporary scholars can be of critical importance to the preacher. Because of all this, a preacher can neither naively accept whatever some scholars would teach, nor can he/she dare to ignore their work.

This leads into the second implication which can be drawn from the Warrack Lecturers' understanding of the relationship between preaching and scholarship. Preachers should keep up to date and be receptive to the developments in Biblical and theological scholarship. As a general rule, the lecturers did just that. Although they were rarely as systematic or thorough as scholars, they were directly influenced by the more recent advances in scholarship. Ministers who would claim that the work of scholars has no relationship to good preaching would be proved in error by these lecturers. In fact, Cowan insisted that preachers should continue their training in divinity long after they have graduated from University. From their example, continuing education for the preacher is an essential element of the homiletical task.

From my knowledge of the present situation, it appears as if Scottish preachers are not taking the full advantage of the continuing education programs being offered by Scottish Divinity Colleges. The contemporary circumstances in many Church of Scotland Parish Churches

seem to be such that they place a great many demands upon their minister's time. Being forced to draw priorities, it appears as if continuing education is just one of those which ends up getting neglected. Perhaps, offering extra time off per annum with a slight stipend only for the purposes of continuing education might provide an incentive.[1] Regardless, if they would follow the example of the Warrack Lecturers, then preachers should continue their training in divinity.

The latter part of this implication, that of being receptive to the recent developments in scholarship, is one of attitude and therefore somewhat ephemeral and more difficult to analyze. Even so, it was seen that the Warrack Lecturers' attitude, as a general rule, was one of openness toward the work of scholars. Even if they did not always agree, they respected the scholars' contributions, especially when it related to the homiletical task. The way in which many of the lecturers appropriated Barthian theology as it was interpreted through the work of Scottish scholars and then allowed it to transform the original interpretative approaches they were taught while in divinity college lends support for this contention. By their example, this attitude of receptiveness to the advances in scholarship was considered by many of the Warrack Lecturers to be an important element within the relationship between preachers and scholars.

Within the present, this attitude of receptiveness appears to have given way to a certain amount of ambivalence. As was argued earlier, a gap was seen to have arisen between the work of preachers and scholars. Even though the reasons for it are many, this gap has created problems within the relationship between preachers and scholars. If one were to

[1]. At present, Edinburgh Presbytery is now offering such study leave, and it is under active consideration in other parts of the country as well.

caricature the dilemma, one could say that preachers have difficulties understanding the complexity and specialization of much of modern scholarship, and therefore see it as somewhat incomprehensible and only distantly related to the homiletical task. On the other hand, scholars have problems comprehending the simplicity and generalities of much of contemporary preaching, and therefore perceive it to be somewhat trite and again only distantly related to their academic endeavors. Regardless of this caricature, a very real gap of understanding exists today between the work of preachers and scholars, and it has adversely affected their relationship.

This leads up to the third implication which can be derived from the Warrack Lecturers' understanding of the relationship between preaching and scholarship. Both preachers and scholars, each in their own way, share in the hermeneutical process by which Biblical subject matter is made comprehensible to modern people. Although the contexts in which they labour, and the end-points of their tasks may differ, both participate at certain levels in a common enterprise. Therefore, it can be implied from the Warrack Lecturers' understanding that the relationship between preachers and scholars should be one of mutual encouragement and support with each recognizing the value of the others' contribution to a commonly shared enterprise.

As has been noted earlier, almost all of the lecturers held a deep respect for the work of scholars and insisted that their input was essential to the interpretative process by which Biblical subject matter is accurately translated into a medium of expression through which God could speak His Word. Some lecturers, such as McIntyre, went as far as to specifically mention which scholarly tools to employ. Craig claimed that he had to comprehend the meaning of the text to the best

of his ability in the light of modern scholarship and that he had to be sure that his sermons never betrayed his education in Biblical scholarship. Moreover, Keir insisted that when it came to understanding the original meaning of the text that the scholar's insights should be given precedence over the preacher's if they differed. Pitt-Watson argued that theology should be the conscience of every sermon. It is clear from these and other examples of the same sort that the Warrack Lecturers considered the input of scholars as essential for good preaching and thought of scholars as sharing in the hermeneutical process by which Biblical subject matter is accurately translated and made comprehensible.

Therefore, it seems only reasonable to infer that the relationship between preachers and scholars, who share such a valuable enterprise, should be marked by mutual encouragement and support. For their part, the Warrack Lecturers confirm this by their usage of the scholar's work and by the value they place upon it. On the scholar's part, this is affirmed by how willing and effective they are in transposing the new methods and findings of scholarship into a medium through which preachers can potentially appropriate them. In accomplishing both of these, preachers and scholars would confirm the value of each other's contributions to a commonly shared enterprise.

All this seems so self-evident. Preachers who ignore the work of scholars cut themselves off from one of their most important resources. To continue to be creative, they need the input and stimulus provided by scholars who think through the meaning of Biblical subject matter and theological problems in a way and in a depth not afforded to the busy

pastor. Without the work of scholarship, preaching which is one of the central elements in the Church's ministry becomes less than what it could be and can potentially fall prey to all sorts of distortions and foolishness. At best, preaching divorced from scholarship becomes stale and repetitive.

From the other side of the fence, scholars in Biblical and theological fields of inquiry who have no concern or empathy for the preacher cut themselves off from one of their most valuable markets and from a group of people who could truly employ their insights and encouragement. If scholars are desirous that the fruit of their labours should have an impact upon the world in which we all live, what better way than at some point translating their work into a medium which can be potentially understood and appropriated by preachers. Although this need not be the only focus for their work, it should be one of them.

Bringing all this to a close, one last remark on the present gap which exists between preachers and scholars. As was previously argued, the lag time between the advances in scholarship and their subsequent appropriation by preachers can be decreased by two factors. The first is how well scholars are able to translate these advances into a medium through which they can be understood and potentially appropriated by preachers. The second is how well preachers keep up on and are receptive to them. Perhaps, this gap could be overcome in a similar way. If scholars were more willing to translate and preachers more informed and receptive, then I believe that both the Church and the world in which we live would be better served by scholars and preachers alike.

Appendix I

Excerpt From the Declaration of Trust

After inquiring of the Church of Scotland Department of Education, I received the following excerpt from the Declaration of Trust by Mr. Frank Warrack, Esq., dated 5th and registered in the Books of Council and Session on 30th March 1924.

> I, FRANK WARRACK, residing at Kersewell, Carnwath, CONSIDERING that I being desirous of making a provision for the more effective training of Ministers of the United Free Church of Scotland have assigned, transferred and made over to the General Trustees of the United Free Church of Scotland 2,000 7% Cumulative Preference Shares of £1 each of Lever Bros. Ltd. and 20 5% Preference Shares of £10 each fully paid up of Messrs. J and J Cunningham Ltd. And Further Considering that it is my desire that the interest or annual return arising from the said investments shall form a Special Fund for an Endowment of a Lectureship on Preaching THEREFORE with the view of giving full effect to my intentions I the said Frank Warrack do hereby Declare that I transferred to the said General Trustees of the said United Free Church of Scotland the said Investments in Trust for the purpose of founding a Lectureship under the following conditions, namely (First) The Lectureship shall bear the name and be called "The Preachers' Lectureship" (Second) The Lecturer shall be appointed by the College Committee of the United Free Church of Scotland or of a United

Church composed of a majority of the United Free Church of Scotland and any other Church with which they may unite (Third) The Lecturer shall be selected from amongst the ministers of the United Free Church of Scotland or of any of the evangelical churches at home or abroad but in Making the selection the said Committee shall not be entitled to appoint to the said Lectureship any of the Professors of the Colleges of the Church nor any members of the said Committee while in office and in making the said appointment the Committee shall observe the following two guiding principles namely, the negative that the appointment is not to be regarded as a reward for services however eminent in other fields of the work of the Church and still less as a Consolation prize for comparative failure in all and the positive that it is to be offered to the Preachers most noted for their power to attract and hold the people; (Fourth) The Lecturer shall be paid the income arising from the said investments or from any investments that may be substituted therefore in terms of the powers aftermentioned less any expenses that may be incurred in connection with the said Lectureship. The Lectureship shall be tenable for one year only and shall not be open to be held again by the same Lecturer until four years have elapsed but in the event of the said Committee desiring to secure a Preacher of World wide reputation from abroad and being of opinion that one Year's income of the Trust Funds would not be sufficient for such purpose the Committee shall have power to pay the Income of the second year when it falls due to such a Lecturer and in that event no Lecturer shall be appointed for such

second year the Income of two years being paid for one Course of Lectures But I hereby specially declare that no Preacher whose charge is in the British Isles shall be paid more than the Income of one year; (Fifth) The Lecturer shall prepare not less than five Lectures and deliver them in each of the Colleges of the United Free Church of Scotland or of a United Church as aforesaid on such dates as may be Mutually arranged between the Lecturer and the Senates of the respective Colleges; (Sixth) In delivering the Lectures the main topic thereof must be the Sermon and methods of effective preaching but the Lecturer may also speak of anything that is relevant to the seemly and orderly conduct of public worship.

Supplementary Declaration of Trust - July 1929

If in the experience of years to come, it be thought desirable by the said College Committee to make any modifications on the terms of the Lectureship, I hereby give power to the said College Committee to make such modifications as they think fit, always keeping in view the principal object of the constitution of the said Lectureship, namely, that it has been instituted for the more effective training and teaching of the ministers of the said Church and in so far as not hereby altered I confirm the said Deed of Trust.

According to the Rev. Mr. Ronald S. Blakey, Assistant Secretary to the Church of Scotland Department of Education, this is all that is in the file regarding the agreement contracted between Mr. Frank Warrack and the Church of Scotland.

As a postscript, in his letter dated 24 August 1982, Mr. Blakey wrote that the file contained a note which states that the Warrack Lectures were endowed in 1920. He also said that he had a list of Warrack Lectureships beginning in 1921 with that of the Rev. John A. Hutton.

Appendix II

Chronological List of the Warrack

Lectures from 1940 to 1975

Year	Lecturer	Title of the Lectures
1940	Oswald B. Milligan	The Ministry of Worship
1941	Herbert H. Farmer	The Servant of the Word
1942	William M. MacGregor	The Making of a Preacher
1943	James S. Stewart	Heralds of God
1944	J. S. Whale	Liturgical Unity of the Pulpit and the Lord's Table
1945	J. Hutchison Cockburn	The Church's Message For An Age of Turmoil
1946	No Appointment	----------
1947	Reinhold Niebuhr	Faith and History: A Comparison of Christian and Modern Views of History
1948	George J. Jeffrey	This Grace Wherein We Stand
1949	R. E. McIntyre	The Ministry of the Word
1950	E. D. Jarvis	If Any Man Minister
1951	David H. C. Read	The Communication of the Gospel
1952	A. C. Craig	Preaching In a Scientific Age
1953	Robert Menzies	Preaching and Pastoral Care
1954	Arthur A. Cowan	The Primacy of Preaching Today
1955	David A. MacLennan	Entrusted With The Gospel
1956	James Wright	A Preacher's Questionnaire
1957/58	Daniel T. Niles	The Preacher's Calling To Be Servant
1959	R. Leonard Small	With Ardour and Accuracy
1960	Thomas H. Keir	The Word In Worship
1961	A. J. Boyd	Christian Encounter
1962	Hamish C. MacKenzie	Preaching the Eternities
1963/64	James T. Cleland	Preaching To Be Understood
1965/67	No Appointment	----------
1968/69	Stuart W. McWilliam	Called to Preach
1970/71	No Appointment	----------
1972/73	Ian Pitt-Watson	A Kind of Folly: Toward A Practical Theology of Preaching
1974/75	Campbell M. MacLean	Warrack's Complaynt

Appendix III

Regarding The Warrack Lectureship Resources

As a general rule, most of the Warrack Lectureships were published or printed as delivered, yet there were some that did not adhere to this practice. The following lists in brief the exceptions to this general rule and whether or not they were employed in this dissertation. The dates in parentheses are those of the original Lectureship.

J. S. Whale, "Liturgical Unity of the Pulpit and the Lord's Table", (1944). Unpublished and unavailable.

J. Hutchison Cockburn, "The Church's Message For An Age of Turmoil", (1945). Unpublished, but available in printed form as delivered from the Archives of Dunblane Cathedral.

Reinhold Niebuhr, Faith and History: A Comparison of Christian and Modern Views, (1947). Niebuhr combined in this work parts from his Warrack Lectures, his Lyman Beecher Lectures, and his addresses at the University of Uppsala. It was decided not to employ this work since the original Warrack Lectureship was not distinguishable from the other content.

Robert Menzies, Preaching and Pastoral Evangelism, (1953). Available but enlarged. It was decided to employ this work since its content was primarily that of his lectures.

Thomas H. Keir, The Word In Worship, (1960). Available but expanded. Here again, it was decided to employ this work since its content was primarily that of his lectures and since it was published not long after his original Lectureship.

Campbell M. MacLean, "Warrack's Complaynt" (1974/75). Unpublished and unavailable.

Appendix IV

Biographical Data About The Warrack Lecturers

Year of Lectures	Name	Born	Age of Lectures	University	Div. College	Dates of M.A./B.D.
1940	Milligan	1879	61	Edinburgh	New College	1899/1902
1941	Farmer	1892	49	Cambridge	Westminster	1918/1921
1942	MacGregor	1861	81	Edinburgh	Glasgow	1880/1883
1943	Stewart	1896	47	St. Andrews	New College	1917/1921
1944	Whale	1896	48	Edinburgh	New College	1893/1897
1945	Cockburn	1882	63	Glasgow	Glasgow	1904/1907
1947	Niebuhr	1892	55	Elmhurst	Eden Theo.	1910/1913
1948	Jeffrey	1881	67	Glasgow	Glasgow	1903/1907
1949	McIntyre	1889	60	Edinburgh	New College	1913/----
1950	Jarvis	1888	62	St. Andrews	New College	1909/----
1951	Read	1910	41	Edinburgh	New College	1932/1936
1952	Craig	1888	64	Edinburgh	New College	1910/----
1953	Menzies	1880	73	St. Andrews	New College	1901/----
1954	Cowan	1883	71	Glasgow	Glasgow	1903/----
1955	MacLennan	1903	52	Yale	McGill	1936/1949
1956	Wright	1891	65	Edinburgh	New College	1911/----
1957/58	Niles	1908	49	Colombo	United Theo.	1930/1933
1959	Small	1905	54	Edinburgh	New College	1928/----
1960	Keir	1907	53	Edinburgh	New College	1927/----
1961	Boyd	1896	65	Glasgow	Glasgow	1921/----
1962	MacKenzie	1903	59	Glasgow	Glasgow	1925/----
1963/64	Cleland	1903	60	Glasgow	Glasgow	1924/1927
1968/69	McWilliam	1915	53	Edinburgh	Union Theo.	1936/----
1972/73	Pitt-Watson	1923	49	Edinburgh	New College	1947/1950
1974/75	MacLean	1922	52	Glasgow	Glasgow	

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following Selected Bibliography will be comprised only of those works which have had a significant impact upon the development of this dissertation and will be divided into three sections in order to make it easier for the reader to locate specific references.

Section I will list the Warrack Lectureships by the year in which they were held.

Section II will again list the Warrack Lectureships but in alphabetical order according to the author's name. It will also include any other sources consulted that were composed by the Warrack Lecturers. Since there are not that many, this listing will not separate books from periodical articles or published sermons. All the consulted sources composed by a particular lecturer will be found together.

Section III will then include all the other pertinent sources found in the dissertation, and these will be subdivided by the usual categories, e.g. Books, Articles From Journals and Periodicals, Reference Works, Reviews, and Unpublished Materials. In general, this format corresponds to the overall development of the dissertation.

Section I

The 1940 to 1975 Warrack Lectureships

By Date Held

1940

Milligan, Oswald Bell. The Ministry of Worship. London: Oxford University Press, 1941.

1941

Farmer, Herbert Henry. The Servant of the Word. London: Nisbet and Co., 1941.

1942

MacGregor, William Malcolm. The Making of a Preacher. London: S.C.M. Press, 1945.

1943

Stewart, James Stuart. Heralds of God. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1946.

1945

Cockburn, James Hutchison. "The Church's Message for an Age of Turmoil". Dunblane: Unpublished Manuscript Available From the Archives of Dunblane Cathedral, 1945.

1947

Niebuhr, Reinhold Faith and History; A Comparison of Christian and Modern Views of History. London: Nisbet and Co., 1949.

1948

Jeffrey, George Johnstone. This Grace Wherein We Stand. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1949.

1949

McIntyre, Robert Edmond. The Ministry of the Word. London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1950.

1950

Jarvis, Ernest David. If Any Man Minster. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1951.

1951

Read, David Haxton Casswell. The Communication of the Gospel. London: S. C. M. Press, 1952.

1952

Craig, Archibald Campbell. Preaching in a Scientific Age. London: S. C. M. Press, 1954.

1953
Menzies, Robert. Preaching and Pastoral Evangelism. Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, n.d.

1954
Cowan, Arthur Aiken. The Primacy of Preaching Today. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1955.

1955
MacLennan, David Alexander. Entrusted With the Gospel. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1956.

1956
Wright, James. A Preacher's Questionnaire. Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1958.

1957/58
Niles, Daniel Thambyrajah. The Preacher's Calling To Be Servant. London: Lutterworth Press, 1959.

1959
Small, Robert Leonard. With Ardour and Accuracy. Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1960.

1960
Keir, Thomas Henry. The Word in Worship; Preaching and Its Setting in Common Worship. London: Oxford University Press, 1962.

1961
Boyd, Alexander John. Christian Encounter. Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1961.

1962
MacKenzie, Hamish Currie. Preaching the Eternities. Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1963.

1963/64
Cleland, James T. Preaching To Be Understood. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1965.

1968/69
McWilliam, Stuart Wilson. Called To Preach. Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1969.

1972/73
Pitt-Watson, Ian. A Kind of Folly; Toward a Practical Theology of Preaching. Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1976.

Section II

The 1940 To 1975 Warrack Lectureships

and Other Sources Consulted

Composed By These Lecturers

Boyd, Alexander John. Christian Encounter. Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1961.

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